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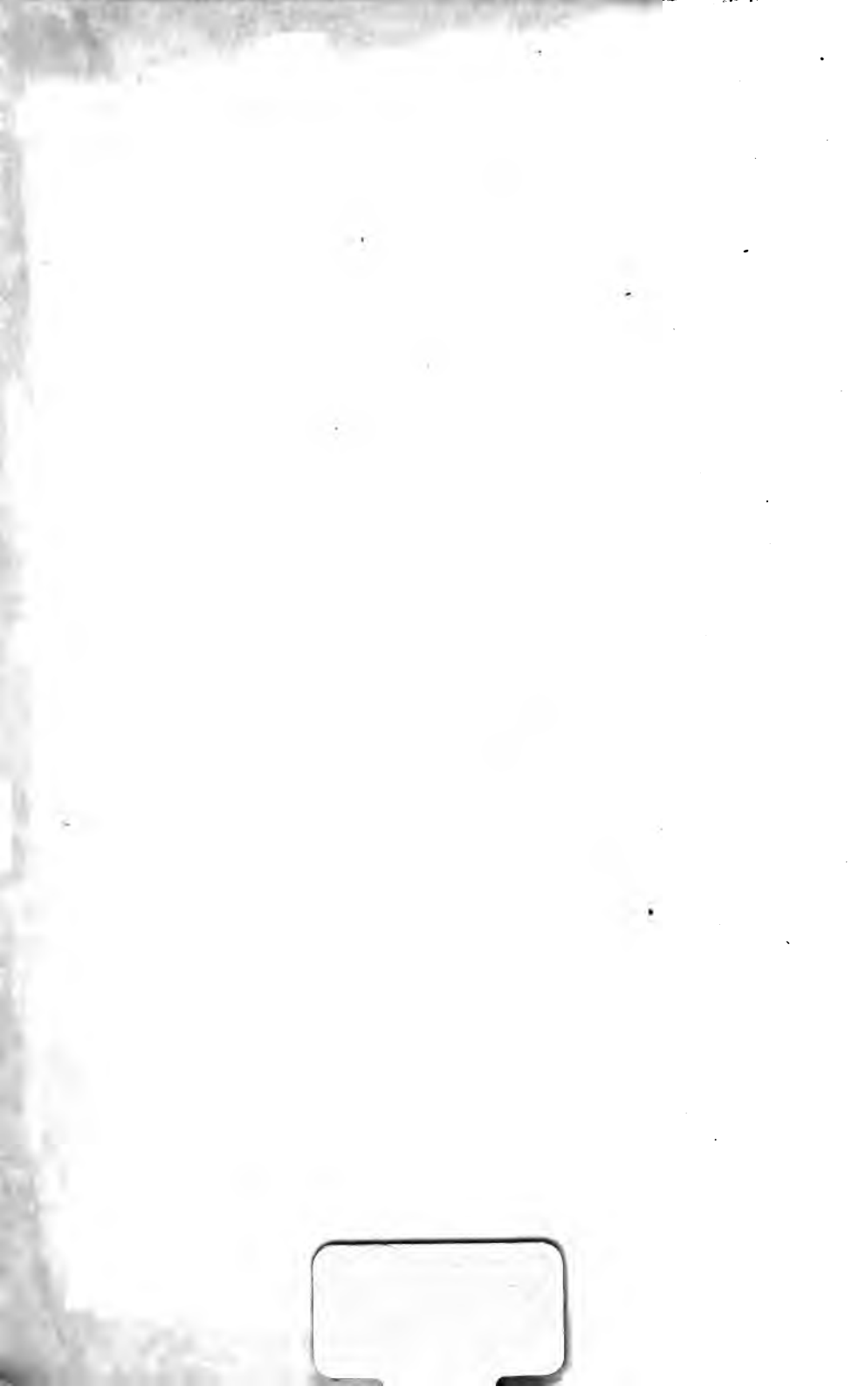
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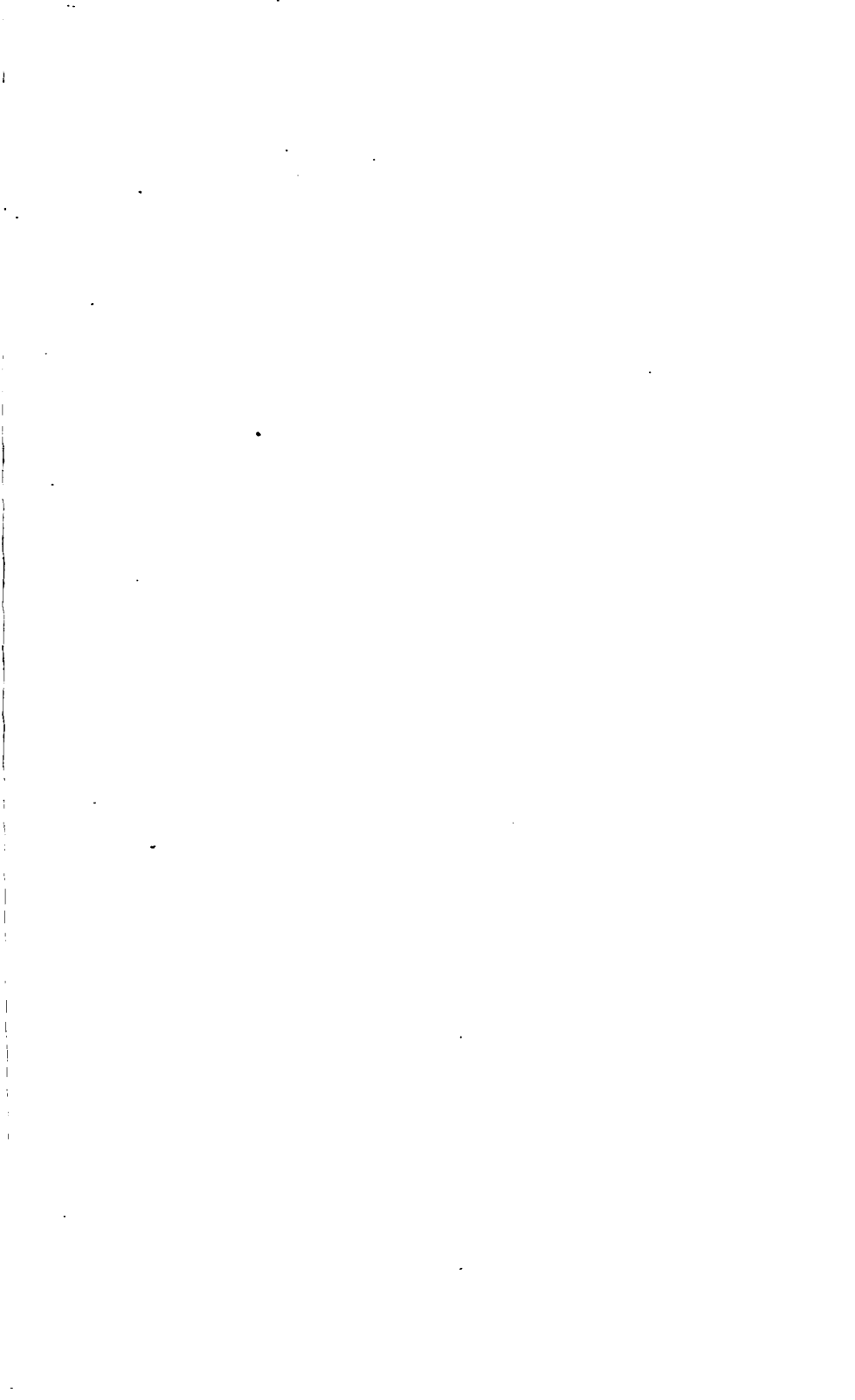
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A

NEW AND FULL

**M E T H O D**

OF SETTLING

**THE CANONICAL AUTHORITY**

OF THE

**NEW TESTAMENT.**

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

A VINDICATION OF THE FORMER PART

OF

ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL,

FROM MR. WHISTON'S CHARGE OF DISLOCATIONS.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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BY

**THE REV. JEREMIAH JONES.**

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VOL. I.

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A  
DISSERTATION  
CONCERNING  
THE NECESSITY  
OF SETTLING  
THE CANON  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

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**THE** design of the following volumes being to establish the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament, I imagined nothing could be a more suitable introduction to the work, than a dissertation concerning the necessity of it. My design is not to make any servile apology for this work's appearance in the world, (every man not only having a right, but being also obliged to do all he can for the interests of Christianity); but only, if it may be, to evidence the absolute necessity of a Christian's employing his utmost diligence, in order to be upon good grounds determined in a question of so great importance as that is, *What books are to be received as the word of God?*

What I design in this matter shall be comprised under the following observations; viz.

- I. That the right settling the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament is attended with very many and great difficulties.
- II. That it is a matter of the greatest consequence and importance.

III. That a great number of Christians are destitute of any good arguments for their belief of the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament.

IV. That very little has yet been done on this subject.

### OBSERV. I.

*That the right settling the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament is attended with very many and great difficulties.*

I AM very sensible such a proposition as this may seem at first surprising to many; and that what is said under it may perhaps be, on the one hand, misimproved by the enemies of revelation, to set them more against it; and, on the other, by the weaker Christians, to shock their faith in it. But as the ensuing volumes are principally intended for the service of these two sorts of persons, viz. to confute the former, and establish the latter in their principles; so I cannot but desire, they would form no judgment from what is here said relating to the main question, till they have honestly perused the book itself.

This premised, I say, it is not so easy a matter as is commonly imagined, rightly to settle the canon of the New Testament. For my own part, I declare with many learned men, that in the whole compass of learning I know no question involved with more intricacies and perplexing difficulties than this. There are indeed considerable difficulties relating to the canon of the Old Testament, as appears by the large controversies between the protestants and papists on this head in the last, and latter end of the preceding century; but these are solved with much more ease than those of the New: for,

1. *The canon of the Jews was settled by Ezra, an inspired writer; but there is no such thing to be said concerning the canon of the New.* It is uncertain, either by whom, or at what time, the present collection was made.

2. *The Jewish canon was certainly approved by our Saviour and his apostles<sup>a</sup>; but it is impossible, in the nature of*

<sup>a</sup> If otherwise, they had certainly censured the Jews for their fault in this, as well as other religious matters. Besides, St. Paul evidently al-

lows, that all their scriptures were the oracles of God, Rom. iii. 2. and that what they called scripture was every part of it inspired.

the thing, the Christian canon should receive the same evidence and authority.

3. In settling the Old Testament collection, all that is requisite is to disprove the claim of a few obscure books, which have but the weakest pretences to be looked upon as scripture; but in the New, we have not only a few to disprove, but a vast number to exclude the canon, which seem to have much more right to admission than any of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament; and besides, to evidence the genuineness of all those which we do receive, since, according to the sentiments of some who would be thought learned, there are none of them, whose authority has not been controverted in the earliest ages of Christianity. In short, whatever almost can be objected against the authority of the present canon of the Old Testament, either in behalf of any books which are not in it, or against any that are, may easily be answered by this single consideration, viz. *that we receive the same and no other books, than what the Jewish church received in our Saviour's time*, as is evident from the copies the Christians procured of them, and the catalogues they made of them (especially that of Melito Sardensis<sup>b</sup>) soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. But the case is very different with respect to the books of the New. The question concerning them divides itself into these two, viz. 1. *Whether any other books are to be received with the same authority, which they are*; and, 2. *Whether they are all of them of the same authority, which the church allows them by admitting them into her canon*.

If we consider either of these questions, we shall find it perhaps not so easily solved, as we are apt to imagine.

I. As to the first, viz. *Whether there are any other books to be admitted as canonical, beside those which now are*; it will appear difficult, if we consider,

1. *The number of books that claim admission is very considerable*. Mr. Toland, in his celebrated catalogue<sup>c</sup>, has presented us with the names of above eighty, which he would have us receive with the same authority, as those we now do. I cannot do him that honour, which Mr. Nye does in his An-

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26. There are others very early, as Ori-

gen's in Psal. primo, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Amyntor, p. 20, &c.

swer<sup>d</sup>, viz. to say his catalogue is complete; for it will sufficiently appear, there are many more of the same sort, which he has not mentioned.

2. *Their pretences are specious and plausible*, for the most part going under the names of our Saviour himself, his apostles, their companions, or immediate successors.

3. *They are generally thought to be cited by the first Christian writers with the same authority* (at least many of them) *as the sacred books we receive*. This Mr. Toland labours hard to persuade us; but, what is more to be regarded, men of greater merit and probity have unwarily dropped expressions of the like nature. "Every body knows," says the learned Casaubon against cardinal Baronius<sup>e</sup>, "that Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and the rest of the primitive writers, were wont [*laudare libros*] to approve and cite books, which now all men know to be apocryphal." Clemens Alexandrinus," says his learned annotator Sylburgius<sup>f</sup>, "was too much pleased with apocryphal writings." Mr. Dodwell (in his learned dissertations on Irenæus<sup>g</sup>) tells us, that "till Trajan, or perhaps Adrian's time, no canon was fixed—the supposititious pieces of the heretics were received by the faithful, the apostles' writings bound up with theirs, and indifferently used in the churches<sup>h</sup>." To mention now no more, the learned Mr. Spanheim observes, "that Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen very often cite apocryphal books under the express name of scripture<sup>i</sup>." What these books are, with the whole of their pretences and claims, I design hereafter particularly to examine; and now only to infer hence, that it is not so easy a matter, to settle the canon of the New Testament, as is generally imagined.

4. *Hence the canon has been judged imperfect, and it has been thought necessary by several learned men, that some other books which are in being, and the remaining fragments of those which are lost, should be received*. This will but too

<sup>d</sup> Page 21.

<sup>e</sup> Exercit. 1. ad Apparat. Baron. Annal. N. 18. p. 54.

<sup>f</sup> Annot. in Clem. Oper. in ipso fine.

<sup>g</sup> Dissert. 1. §. 38, 39.

<sup>h</sup> Dr. Clarke asserts the very same, as to the promiscuous citation of ours

and other books, and is quite mistaken in saying, that Mr. Dodwell owns the apocryphal books were bound in distinct volumes from those of the apostles. Reflect. on Amyntor, p. 44.

<sup>i</sup> Histor. Christian. Secul. 3. p. 706.



largely appear hereafter : in the mean time, I shall only observe the sentiments of two learned men on this matter, whose names are well known among us ; viz. the present archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Whiston.

The former, in his Preliminary Discourse to his English Translation of the Apostolical Fathers, tells us, ch. x. §. 4. “ That we cannot with any reason doubt of what they deliver “ to us as the gospel of Christ, but ought to receive it, if not “ with equal veneration, yet but with a little less respect than “ we do the sacred writings of those, who were their masters “ and instructors. §. 11. That we are to look upon the writings of these holy men, as containing the pure and uncorrupted doctrine of our blessed Saviour and his apostles. “ That these writers were not only qualified by ordinary “ means to deliver the gospel of Christ to us, but in all probability were endued with the extraordinary assistance of the “ Holy Spirit too ; so that what they teach us is not to be “ looked upon, as a mere traditionary relation of what had “ been delivered to them, but rather as an authoritative declaration of the gospel of Christ to us. §. 23. That they were “ inspired men, and therefore not only have not mistaken the “ minds of the apostles, but were not capable of doing it. “ §. 29. That they must be looked upon to have nothing in “ them but what was thought” (and consequently which we are to think) “ worthy of all acceptance. §. 30. That they “ have received a more than human approbation—and contain the true and pure faith of Christ, without the least error “ intermixed with it.” It is not my business here to inquire into the truth of these assertions, nor will I venture to give my opinion in the matter, till I have produced the best arguments I can to support it, which will be done in the third part of this work ; only this I cannot but observe, that, notwithstanding all this, many learned men have thought several of these apostolical pieces not only spurious, but silly and ridiculous ; and since these books (which are, and always have been excluded the canon) are of so great authority with so great and learned a writer, that scarce any thing more can be said of the canonical books themselves, it is a necessary and natural inference,

that it is a work much harder than is generally imagined, to settle the canon of the New Testament.

How much Mr. Whiston has enlarged the canon of the New Testament, is sufficiently known to the learned among us. For the sake of those who have not perused his truly valuable books, I would observe, that he imagines the "Constitutions of the Apostles to be inspired, and of greater authority than the occasional writings of single apostles and evangelists. That the two Epistles of Clemens, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the second book of Esdras, the Epistles of Ignatius, and the Epistle of Polycarp, are to be reckoned among the sacred authentic books of the New Testament; as also that the Acts of Paul, the Revelation, Preaching, Gospel and Acts of Peter, were sacred books, and, if they were extant, should be of the same authority with any of the rest<sup>k</sup>." However this learned man may be mistaken in other matters, and though I hope to prove the canon of the New Testament complete without any of these additions; yet, as I think it a very shameful neglect in learned men, not to inquire into these things, so, I am sure, he who does, will find great difficulties in settling the canon of the books of the New Testament.

II. The other part of the question about the canon is, *Whether all the books now admitted into the canon of the New Testament are of equal authority, or the same authority which their being placed in the canon supposes.* The discussing this question will appear to be no less a difficulty than the former, if we consider,

1. That it is impossible to assign any certain time, when a collection of these books, either by the apostles, or any council of inspired or learned men near their times, was made.

2. That they have been all, or most of them, rejected by some heretics, or others, in the first ages.

3. That several of them have not been received by those, who did not go under the name of heretics before Eusebius's time.

4. That several of them have had their authority disputed by learned men in later times.

<sup>k</sup> Essay of the Constit. Introd. p. 4. and ch. 1.

Though I hope fully to confute these specious objections, and all others that can be made against our present collection, in the fourth part of this book; yet every one must allow such objections to make the business of settling the canon not so easy, as is commonly imagined.

1. As to the first of these, viz. *That we cannot assign any certain time, when a collection of these books was made, or a canon settled by the apostles, or any inspired persons near their time*, the matter is too certain to need much to be said of it. Mr. Dodwell<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Grabe<sup>m</sup>, and Dr. Mills<sup>n</sup>, our best writers on these heads, have observed it already; though I hope to prove their arguings on this head (I mean of the two former) to be false and groundless.

2. *That many, or most of the books of the New Testament, have been rejected by heretics in the first ages, is also certain.*

Faustus Manichæus and his followers are said to have rejected all the New Testament, as not written by the apostles<sup>o</sup>.

Marcion rejected all, except St. Luke's Gospel<sup>p</sup>.

The Manichees disputed much against the authority of St. Matthew's Gospel<sup>q</sup>.

The Alogians rejected the Gospel of St. John, as not his, but made by Cerinthus<sup>r</sup>.

The Acts of the Apostles were rejected by Severus, and the sect of his name<sup>s</sup>.

The same rejected all Paul's Epistles<sup>t</sup>, as did also the Ebionites<sup>u</sup>, and the Helkessites<sup>x</sup>.

Others, who did not reject all, rejected some particular epistles, of which instances will be given hereafter.

3. *Several of the books of the New Testament were not universally received, even among them who were not heretics, in*

<sup>1</sup> Atqui certe ante illam epocham, quam dixi, Trajani, nondum constitutus est librorum sacrorum canon, nec receptus aliquis in ecclesia catholica librorum certus numerus—nec rejecti hæreticorum pseudepigraphi, &c. Dissert. in Iren. §. 39.

<sup>m</sup> Canon sacrorum librorum non statim constitutus est ab initio ecclesiæ, &c. Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 320.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. ejus Prolegom. in Novo Testam. p. 23.

<sup>o</sup> August. cont. Faust. Manich. l. 32.

c. 2. et 8. This is urged by Toland in Amynt. p. 61, &c. but disputed by Mr. Nye in his Answer, p. 87, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Epiphan. Hæres. 42. de Marcionit.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. August. cont. Faust. l. 2, 3, et 7.

<sup>r</sup> August. lib. de Hæres. 30. et Epiphan. Hæres. 51. de Alog.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 29.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Id. lib. 3. c. 27. Vid. et Epiphan. Hæres. 30. de Ebion.

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 38.

*the first ages.* Eusebius tells us<sup>y</sup>, the authority of the second Epistle of Peter, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, was disputed; and in another place<sup>z</sup>, that the Epistles of James, Jude, the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, were not universally received, but doubted of by some: the same, or rather more, he says of the Revelation of St. John.

4. *Several of them have had their authority disputed by learned men in later times.* Luther and several of his followers utterly reject the Epistle of James, not only as a spurious piece, but as containing things directly contrary to the gospel<sup>a</sup>. Erasmus had a very mean opinion, and doubted the canonical authority, of the Revelations<sup>b</sup>. Calvin, Cajetan, and the learned Kirstenius<sup>c</sup>, had the same sentiments of it. But referring this and many other things, which might be said under this and the foregoing heads, to their proper place, I shall only infer from the whole, that if so many books, beside what we now receive, claim admission into our canon, in the judgment of learned men; if we can prove no certain time, when the canon was fixed in the first, or beginning of the second century; if there were such controversies, not only among the orthodox and heretics, but among the orthodox themselves, concerning the authority of several books; and lastly, if several books have been rejected by learned men of late; it follows most undeniably, that it requires our utmost diligence and industry, as being apparently a work of the greatest difficulty, to settle the canon of the New Testament.

## OBSERV. II.

*That settling the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament, is a matter of the greatest consequence and importance.*

FOR if, on the one hand, any book be received as the word of God, which is not so; or, on the other hand, any book be not received as the word of God, which really is so, the conse-

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Id. lib. 3. c. 25.

<sup>a</sup> See Manton. Pref. to James.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Annot. in Rev. xxii.

<sup>c</sup> See the Preface to Dr. Gregory's Works, p. 10.

quences are fatal and dangerous, and the neglect of due inquiry in such a matter must needs be very criminal.

I. As to the first, viz. *Receiving books for inspired, which are not so*, the consequences are evidently very bad; as,

1. *We thereby offer a notorious affront to our Maker*, not only making him the author of lies and forgeries, but imputing the false, perhaps blasphemous conceptions of ill-designing men, suggested by the father of lies, to the inspiration of his holy Spirit. Thus injurious to the honour of God are many of the apocryphal books both of the Old and New Testament, in which we find, not only the most silly and frivolous stories, not like the dictates of the Holy Ghost, but direct contrarieties to the most certain truths. Thus the author of the book of Tobit makes his angel *guilty of a gross lie*, saying first, that he was Azarias the son of Ananias, ch. v. ver. 12. and afterwards, ch. xii. ver. 15. that he was Raphael, one of the seven angels.

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon very plainly asserts the *doctrine of the preexistence of souls*, before they are brought into bodies, ch. viii. ver. 19, 20.

The author of Baruch says, ch. i. ver. 1, 2, 3. that *he read his book to the captives the fifth year of the captivity in Babylon*, when it is certain the true Baruch was with Jeremiah in Egypt, Jer. xliii. ver. 5, 6, 7.

To omit a hundred such instances, I shall only produce a few such from the apocryphal books of the New Testament, by which it will appear, how bad the consequence would be of receiving those books for genuine, which are not. Thus for instance it would be, should any receive *those spurious books, attributed to our Saviour<sup>d</sup>*, which, the wicked authors of them pretended, did contain those magical arts, by which he wrought his miracles.

Thus it would be, should the celebrated *Gospel of the Nazarenes* (which father Simon and others reckon the true one of St. Matthew) be received as inspired; which makes our Lord Jesus Christ unwilling to be baptized by John, nay intimates, he was not baptized at all; that he questioned, whether

<sup>d</sup> Vid. August. de Consens. Evangel. l. i. c. 9, 10. Tom. Opp. 4.

he was not a sinner, &c.<sup>e</sup> that the Holy Ghost took him by one of his hairs into the great mount Thabor<sup>f</sup>, &c.

In the book, entitled *The Preaching of Paul*, we have almost the same story of Christ's unwillingness to be baptized, till forced to it by his mother; his confessing his sins<sup>g</sup>, &c.

It were easy to produce many such instances; these may shew us, of how dangerous consequence it is, to receive any books for the word of God, which are not so, seeing we impute such wretched fooleries, nonsense, and contradictions to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

2. By receiving books as the word of God, which are not so, *we assent to the most gross and notorious errors as indubitable truths, and so very often shall be like to oblige ourselves to many burdensome imaginary duties, not only not required in the word of God, but perhaps directly contrary to the true mind and will of God revealed in it.*

St. Luke was so sensible of this dangerous consequence from the many spurious apocryphal Gospels extant in his time, that he wrote his Gospel with this kind intention to prevent it, as he himself informs us in his preface<sup>h</sup>. St. Paul likewise, apprehensive of such pernicious evils, that might be produced by any spurious Epistles pretending under his name to inspiration, warns the Thessalonians not to receive them, nor be influenced in their judgment by them<sup>i</sup>. And indeed there is apparently the greatest reason for care and caution in this matter; for instance,

What wretched principles in Christianity must they have, who received the forementioned books, *of Christ's working his miracles by magical arts, or believed him to be a sinner!* What an odd religion must they profess and practise, who should re-

<sup>e</sup> Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei, Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum; eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis, Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo, nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est? Hieronym. adv. Pelag. l. 3. c. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Ἄρτι ἔλαβί με ἡ μέσση μου τὸ ἄγιον πνῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπὸ νύκτι με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβὼρ, &c. Origen. tom. 2. in Joan. p. 58. et Hieronym. l. 2. Comment. in Mich. vii. 6.

<sup>g</sup> In hoc libro contra omnes scripturas, et Christum de proprio peccato contententem invenies—et ad accipiendum Joannis Baptisma pæne invitum a matre sua Maria esse compulsus, &c. Vid. Tract. de non iterando Baptism. ad calcem Opp. Cyp.

<sup>h</sup> Luke i. 5. That this is the meaning of St. Luke's preface, I have proved in my Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel against Mr. Whiston, and shall more fully shew hereafter.

<sup>i</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 2.

ceive that other book, attributed to our Saviour<sup>k</sup>, in which he declares, *he was no way against the heathen gods, &c.*

They who received the book, called The Acts or Journeys of the Apostles, Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, must believe, *that Christ was not really, but only appeared as a man; and was seen by his disciples in various forms, sometimes as a young man, sometimes as an old one, sometimes as a child, sometimes great, sometimes small, sometimes so tall, that his head would reach the clouds; that he was not really crucified himself, but another in his stead, while he laughed at those who imagined they crucified him<sup>l</sup>, &c.*

A little acquaintance with Christian antiquities will furnish us with various instances of this sort. Pretences to inspiration were very frequent in the first ages, and it was the constant artifice of evil-minded designing men, to publish their errors under the great name of some apostle, or inspired writer, in order the more effectually to propagate them among the unthinking multitude. Irenæus tells us<sup>m</sup>, the Gnostics for this purpose “made a prodigious number of apocryphal and spurious scriptures in his time;” and it is well known, that Basilides, Apelles, Cerinthus, Marcion, Tatian, and many other of the first heretics, pursued the same method with too great success. Thus, to give now no other instance, the Nicolaitans, mentioned Rev. ii. 6. “forged a book under the name of the “inspired apostle Matthias<sup>n</sup>, to justify themselves in the execrable vice of the communion of women<sup>o</sup>.” Thus does the receiving spurious books, under specious pretences, lay us under a necessity of errors in doctrine and practice; and it is not without concern, that I put the reader in mind of a living instance of this in the learned Mr. Whiston, whom one cannot

<sup>k</sup> Vid. August. de Consens. Evang. l. i. c. 34.

<sup>l</sup> See this whole matter related by the learned Photius, who read the book Biblioth. Cod. cxiv. I am apt to think it was in the Gospel of Basilides also, since such a gospel there certainly was; and Irenæus adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 23. and Epiphanius Hæres. 24. tell us, Basilides and his followers said, it was not Christ that was crucified, but Simon of Cyrene.

N. B. If these were the Acts of

Peter, Mr. Whiston would have reckoned them among the sacred books; he must strike out several of these to make room for it.

<sup>m</sup> Ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόμων γεγραμμένων Ἰαχάριαν. Adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 17.

<sup>n</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. p. 436.

<sup>o</sup> It is supposed by learned men, that the Traditions of Matthias, cited by the Nicolaitans, was a book, though perhaps properly called *Traditions*, being never written.

without compassion behold honestly paying the greatest regard to the pretended Constitutions of the Apostles, and “not daring,” as he says, “any more to disbelieve the doctrines, or “disobey the duties therein delivered and enjoined, than he “dare do the like, as to the known doctrines and duties “plainly contained in the uncontested books of the New Testament P.”

II. It must needs also be of very bad consequence, that any book be excluded from the canon, which really is the word of God; for hereby,

1. We cast contempt upon God and his Spirit, in refusing to *hear* what the Lord our God hath spoken to us.

2. We are injurious to ourselves, as we deny ourselves the use of the means of salvation.

Thus the Ebionites, Manichees, and most of the primitive heretics, by disowning several parts of the New Testament, fell into those errors, which proved so fatal to their most important interests.

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### OBSERV. III.

*Notwithstanding the importance of this subject, a very considerable number of those, who are called Christians, are destitute of any just arguments for their belief of the canonical authority of the present books of the New Testament.*

**THOUGH** I would by no means be the occasion of shocking any person's faith in a business of this nature, yet I think the present observation to be so much to my present purpose, and withal so very true, that I cannot pass it over, though it be on a subject so disagreeable. He, who has but the least occasion to acquaint himself with the religious state of mankind, cannot but with surprising concern have observed, how slender and uncertain the principles are, upon which men receive the scriptures as the word of God. The truth is, (though a very melancholy one,) that many persons commence religious at first they don't know why, and so with a blind zeal persist in a religion, which is they don't know what; by the chance of education, and the force of custom, they receive these scriptures



as the word of God, without making any serious inquiries, and consequently without being able to give any solid reasons, why they believe them to be such. This has been observed and lamented by our best divines long since, and by none more than the pious Mr. Baxter, in whose words I shall rather choose to express myself, on this tender subject, than my own: "Few Christians among us, for aught I find," says he<sup>q</sup>, "have any better than the popish implicit faith in this point, nor any better arguments than the papists have, to prove the scriptures the word of God. They have received it by tradition: godly ministers and Christians tell them so: it is impious to doubt of it: therefore they believe it. Though we could persuade people never so confidently, that scripture is the very word of God, and yet teach them no more reason, why they should believe this, than any other book, to be that word; as it will prove in them no right way of believing, so it is in us no right way of teaching. It is strange," says he<sup>r</sup>, "to consider, how we all abhor that piece of popery, as most injurious to God of all the rest, which resolves our faith into the authority of the church; and yet that we do, for the generality of professors, content ourselves with the same kind of faith; only with this difference, the papists believe scripture to be the word of God, because their church saith so; and we, because our church, or our leaders say so. Yea, and many ministers never yet gave their people better grounds, but tell them, that it is damnable to deny it, but help them not to the necessary antecedents of faith. <sup>s</sup> It is to be understood, that many a thousand do profess Christianity, and zealously hate the enemies thereof, upon the same grounds, to the same end, and from the same inward corrupt principles, as the Jews did hate and kill Christ. It is the religion of the country, where every man is reproached, that believes otherwise; they were born and brought up in this belief, and it hath increased in them upon the like occasions. Had they been born and bred in the religion of Mahomet, they would have been as zealous for him. The difference betwixt him and a Maho-

<sup>q</sup> *Saints' Rest*, part 2. §. 1. p. 197.    <sup>r</sup> *Ibid.* §. 2. p. 201.    <sup>s</sup> *Ibid.* §. 2. p. 202.

“metan, is more that he lives where better laws and religion dwell, than that he hath more knowledge or soundness of apprehension.” Thus far he; nor is the case, I fear, much altered for the better since his time. What sorry reasons, when asked, are the generality of persons able to give for the divine authority of scripture! Nay, to use Mr. Baxter’s words once more, “Are the more exercised understanding sort of Christians able, by sound arguments, to make good the verity of scripture? Nay, are the meaner sort of ministers in England able to do this? Let them that have tried, judge!” If the question be, why Barnabas’s Epistle be rejected, and Jude’s received; why the Gospel of Peter was excluded, and the Epistle of Peter admitted into the canon as the word of God, &c. alas! how little shall we have given in answer, unless what Mr. Baxter says, “we believe as the church does!” As for those happy persons, who are able, by the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit, to distinguish between canonical and apocryphal books, I shall say nothing now; only observe, their number is very small, designing hereafter to do all possible justice to this argument, so much insisted on by our first reformers. What I have now to do is to observe, from the melancholy experience we have of persons’ ignorance of the grounds of scripture-belief, how necessary it is we should use our utmost endeavours to remove it. Not that I think it necessary, or indeed possible, for every one to search the ancient records of Christianity; but that those, who are able, should do it, and endeavour to convey as much knowledge, as may be, of these matters into the minds of those who cannot. And certainly this must be of the utmost necessity; for,

1. *Our assent to any proposition can only be in proportion to its evidence.* “The truth is,” says the learned Mr. Hooker<sup>a</sup>, “that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is, which the truth hath, either in itself, or through proof, such is the heart’s assent thereunto; neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be.” This evidently appears from the nature of things; and therefore, as persons’ evidences for the truth of scripture are, such will be their assent.

<sup>a</sup> Saints’ Rest, part 2. §. 1. p. 197.    <sup>b</sup> Ecclesiast. Polity, book 2. p. 117.

2. *In proportion to the degree of our assent to any truth, will be its influence upon us.* This, however it may seem at first, will, upon close inquiry, be found no less true than the former. There seems to be no other way possible of accounting for men's disregard of the important duties of religion, but by supposing their tacit disbelief of its principles. "For my own part," says Mr. Baxter<sup>x</sup>, "I take it to be the greatest cause of coldness in duty, weakness in graces, boldness in sinning, and unwillingness to die, &c. that our faith is either unsound or infirm in this point. This worm lying at the root, causeth the languishing and decay of the whole." St. Paul, by this very means, accounts for the strange disobedience of the Israelites, viz. they did not really believe the promises. (See Heb. iv. 2.) And it is a sort of proverbial and very just observation, that *unbelief is the source of, or is in, all our sins*. It were easy to say a great deal to support the assertion, of the proportion that is in our practice to our faith, not only in principles of religion, but all other things; I shall only now make this reflection, that if it be so, we are proportionably concerned, as we would have our practice agreeable to the will of God, to use our best endeavours to get the strongest evidence for the authority of the sacred books.

#### OBSERV. IV.

*That though it be a matter of so great difficulty and importance, to determine the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament, and though the generality of Christians are so very ignorant in this matter; yet very little has been done by learned men on this subject.*

IT is indeed strange, that in so great a variety of books of all sorts, so few or none should have been published on this subject. It must be remembered, that I am now speaking only of the New Testament; for about the canon of the Old, Chamier, Whitaker, Dr. John Reynolds, Dr. Cosin, Spanheim, bishop Burnet, and many others, have written much, and to good purpose. Mr. Du Pin is the only one I know, who has wrote purposely on the canon of the New; beside what has

<sup>x</sup> Ubi supr. p. 197. See p. 199, 200.

been wrote occasionally in the prefaces and prolegomena of commentators on particular books, and the Reflections of Mr. Nye, Mr. Richardson, and Dr. Clarke on Toland's *Amyntor*. The first of these is reckoned the most considerable; though, in my judgment, the other lesser pieces have done much more to establish the canon than this larger work of Mr. Du Pin: for,

1. The greatest part of the work is upon subjects very different from the canon; such as, the purity of the Greek text, the ancient manuscripts, various readings, Latin and Oriental versions, the division of the New Testament into titles, chapters, &c.

2. There is in it but very little said to establish the canonical authority of the books, and answer what is objected against the controverted pieces; viz. the Epistle to the Hebrews, of James, Jude, the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Revelations. In that place where he proposes to establish them, he does not spend much above one page in doing it; and though, for the proof of the authority of these books, he names such and such fathers who cited them, yet he neither informs the unlearned reader at what time these fathers lived, nor the learned, in what part of their works they do cite them: so that the former must necessarily be ignorant of the force of his argument, as the latter will be of the truth of it.

3. His sixth chapter, which is all he has wrote of the apocryphal books of the New Testament, is wretchedly defective, both in the enumerating and confuting them; besides that he has given us scarce any of their fragments, and indeed has said scarce any thing of them.

A

# METHOD

FOR

## SETTLING THE CANON

OF THE

## NEW TESTAMENT.

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### PART I.

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#### CHAP. I.

*What the word canon signifies: how and when it came to be applied to the books of scripture.*

THE infinitely good God, having favoured mankind with a revelation of his will, has thereby obliged all those, who are blessed with the knowledge thereof, to regard it as the unerring rule of their faith and practice. Under this character, the prophets, apostles, and other writers of the sacred books, published and delivered them to the world; and on this account they were dignified above all others with the titles of the *canon* and *canonical*. The word *canon* is originally Greek, and did in that language (as well as in the Latin afterwards) commonly denote *that which was a rule or standard, by which other things were to be examined and judged*<sup>a</sup>. And inasmuch as the books of divine inspiration contained the most remarkable rules, and the most important directions of all others, the

\* The word *κανών* seems originally to have signified the *tongue of a balance*, or that small part of the scales, which, by its perpendicular situation, determines the even poise or weight; or, by its inclination either way, the uneven poise of the things which are

weighed. So the ancient Greek scholiast of Aristophanes has observed on *κανόνες*.] *κυρίως τὸ ἰσάνα τῆς σφυράνης ἐν, καὶ εἰς ἰσότησα ταύτης ἔχον*. In *Ran.* v. 811.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἀνθρώπων βούλησις οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς κανὼν*. Aristot. *Politic.* l. 2. c. 10.

collection of them, in time, obtained the name of the *canon*, and each book was called *canonical*. At what time they were first thus called, is not very easy to determine. Some imagine St. Paul himself to have given this title to the sacred books extant in his time, Gal. vi. 16. and Phil. iii. 16.<sup>b</sup> But the apostle seems in those places rather to speak of the doctrine of the gospel, than any books which contained it; although it is very probable that St. Paul's using the word *canon* in these places, was the occasion of its afterwards being affixed to the books themselves.

This seems the most genuine account of the original of this appellation; nor do I know of any other that has been, or can be assigned, beside that of Mr. Du Pin and Mr. Whiston.

The former<sup>c</sup> supposes the word *canon* to denote the same as *catalogue*, and the inspired books to be called *canonical*, only *because the catalogue of them was styled the canon*. But, in answer to this, it will be sufficient to observe, that the Greek word is never used in that sense, which he supposes, in any profane writers, nor even among the Christians till the fourth century; before which time the word was certainly applied to the sacred volume.

Mr. Whiston<sup>d</sup> imagines the canon of scripture, or the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, are those, and only those, which are inserted into the last *apostolical canon*, and were so styled by the ancients only on that account. But the spuriousness of these pretended apostolical canons being a matter so universally agreed on, and in itself so very certain, as I shall shew hereafter, I need now say no more to disprove this opinion; only will observe these two or three things: viz,

1. That if the ancients styled the sacred books canonical, because they are recited in the eighty-fifth canon of the apostles, then it will most undeniably follow, that *all and every one of the books recited therein must equally have been reputed or called canonical*. But the contrary to this is sufficiently known; nor can any one single instance be produced out of any of the first writers of Christianity, in which either the

<sup>b</sup> Στοιχεῖν κατὰ τούτοις. Vid. Michael. Walther. Offic. Bibl. §. 564.

<sup>c</sup> History of the Canon of the Old

Test. b. i. c. i. §. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Essay on the Apostolical Constit. c. i. §. 6.

Book of Judith, the three Books of the Maccabees, the Wisdom of Sirach, among the books of the Old Testament; or the two Epistles of Clemens, or the Apostolical Constitutions of Clemens, among those of the New, were reputed canonical; yet are each of these inserted in the forementioned canon, which goes under the apostles' names: an argument sufficient of itself to prove the spuriousness of these canons; the books therein recommended being not only evidently fictitious, but in many things contrary to the known doctrine of the apostles.

2. On the other hand, if the books were called canonical on account of their insertion in this canon of the apostles, then it seems utterly inconceivable, *how any book or books could be ever reckoned canonical, which are not found in it.* How, for instance, could the book of Revelations be reckoned canonical, which is not inserted in this canon? And yet we find it expressly mentioned under this title by the ancients very early: for Origen, reckoning up the sacred books (τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν φυλάττων κανόνα, *reciting the canonical books*, as Eusebius phrases it<sup>e</sup>) among these mentions the Revelation written by John. Now if only the books mentioned in this Apostolical Canon were called canonical, how came this book, not mentioned there, to be called so? How came this by the name, as well as the rest mentioned there? To say a book is canonical, because recited in such a canon, and yet the book not there, is much the same as to say, the book is, and is not in the canon.

Notwithstanding what has been said, there is no doubt but this denomination of the sacred books is of the greatest antiquity. Irenæus, speaking of the scriptures, styles them, τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας, i. e. *the canon of truth*<sup>f</sup>. Clemens Alexandrinus, disputing with some heretics of his time, blames them for making use of apocryphal scriptures, “choosing rather to follow any, than the true canonical Gospels<sup>g</sup>.” Eusebius<sup>h</sup> in so many words tells us, that Origen, in his Exposition on Matthew, “enumerates the books of scripture according to the “canon of the church;” i. e. the canon received and established in the church. Athanasius<sup>i</sup> (if that book be his, De Synops.

<sup>e</sup> Orig. Comment. in Matt. Proœm.  
et Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

<sup>f</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 4. c. 69. in fine.

<sup>g</sup> Stromat. l. 3. p. 453.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

<sup>i</sup> Synops. tot. Script. in initio.

Scriptur.) expressly mentions the books of scripture, “as contained in a certain canon.” And Epiphanius<sup>k</sup>, speaking of the heretics called Apotacticks, says, “they received the apocryphal Acts of Andrew and Thomas, rejecting the canon received by the church.” Philastrius uses the distinction of *canonical* and *apocryphal*, as well known in his time<sup>l</sup>. I shall only add, that in the writings of Ruffin<sup>m</sup>, Jerome<sup>n</sup>, and especially Austin<sup>o</sup>, we meet with these words in innumerable places.

## CHAP. II.

*An inquiry into the intimations there are in the received writings of the New Testament, of spurious and apocryphal pieces extant in the apostles' time.*

### PROP. I.

Beside those books, which are now commonly received into the canon of the New Testament, there have been many others, under the names either of our Saviour, his apostles, or their contemporaries, which may seem to claim the same authority.

IN order to establish the canon of the New Testament, it is of absolute necessity, that the pretences of all other books to canonical authority be first carefully examined and refuted. The large number of these books, the plausible arguments some of them are supported with, and the too favourable and unguarded expressions of many learned men relating to them, (as has been hinted in the preceding dissertation, Observ. I.) make it impossible rightly to settle the canon, without a particular consideration of them. My first business therefore will be, to give the reader as large and particular an account of these as I can; in order to which I observe, in the first place,

That *there are some intimations of such books in the now received scriptures of the New Testament*; so very early was

<sup>k</sup> Hæres. 61. §. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. 87.

<sup>m</sup> Exposit. in Symbol. Apostol. juxta finem.

<sup>n</sup> Prolog. in Matth. Comment. in Ephes. v. 31.

<sup>o</sup> Epist. ad Hieronym. 19. Epist. ad Paulin. 112. Lib. contra Faust. Manich. l. 11. c. 5. De Civit. Dei, l. 11. c. 3. l. 15. c. 23. l. 18. c. 38. et l. 19. c. 18.



this artifice of Satan against the true interest of Christianity. The most remarkable places of the New Testament are the following; viz.

1. That of St. Luke in the preface to his Gospel, c. i. v. 1, 2, 3. *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus.* A little consideration on these words will oblige us to conclude, that there were in St. Luke's time many false and spurious gospels, or histories of our Saviour's life and doctrine. For the design of them is evidently this, to give Theophilus an account of the reason or motives, which induced him to write his Gospel, viz. because many others had engaged in the same work before. But this could not possibly have been any reason for his writing, unless those others had been defective or false in their accounts. If otherwise, viz. if those other gospels had been genuine and true, the number of them should rather have prevented than forwarded him in his work. Thus the ancients<sup>p</sup>, as well as most modern writers, understand St. Luke in this place<sup>q</sup>: but having treated of this matter more largely in another place<sup>r</sup>, I must refer the reader there. Nor shall I here inquire, what those gospels were, which St. Luke refers to; though several of the ancients<sup>s</sup>, and Dr. Grabe<sup>t</sup> of late, have imagined, he especially respected the Gospel of the Egyptians and the Nazarenes, as extant at that time.

2. Another instance of a spurious writing under an apostle's name seems to me fairly to be gathered from those words of St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 2. *Be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by letter, as from us, as that*

<sup>p</sup> Origen. Homil. in Luc. i. 1. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24. Ambros. Comment. in Luc. i. August. de Consens. Evang. l. 4. c. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Erasmus in Luc. i. 1. Bellarm. de Matrim. Sacr. l. 1. c. 16. Grot. in Luc. i. 1. Huet. Demonst. Evang. Prop. 1. §. 16. Father Simon, Critic. Hist. of

the New Testam. Par. 1. c. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel against Mr. Whiston, c. 2. p. 9. &c.

<sup>s</sup> Origen. Homil. in Luc. i. 1. Hieron. Præf. in Matth. Theophylact. in Luc. i. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Secul. I. p. 31. &c.

*the day of Christ is at hand.* The plain purport of which words is, to guard them against a groundless expectation they were in danger of being wrought up to, of Christ's second coming, by the delusive artifices of false apostles. He cautions them not to be deceived by any of their false methods, and particularly not by any epistle they should produce under his name. Nothing can be more evidently implied in the words μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὥς δι' ἡμῶν, than that the apostle suspected some spurious epistle to be published under his name in Thessalonica. Some of our best expositors<sup>u</sup>, not observing the force of the particle ὥς here, have imagined St. Paul in these words to refer to his former Epistle: but nothing can be more improbable; for, 1. It renders the significant particle ὥς quite useless and superfluous: 2. It makes the apostle rank his own Epistle in the same class with spurious revelations and false discourses, which he warns them not to be influenced by. Hence the ancient writers of Christianity, Tertullian, Origen, and others, who knew what great numbers of books were forged early under the apostles' names, expound this passage of some supposititious pieces falsely ascribed to St. Paul<sup>x</sup>; and so also several of our modern writers<sup>y</sup>. I would only add, that this exposition is most clearly confirmed by the conclusion of the Epistle, which runs thus<sup>z</sup>, *The salutation of me Paul with my own hand, which is the token in every epistle, so I write.* In which words, by reason of the supposititious epistle under his name, he gives them a certain mark, by which they should be always able to distinguish his genuine writings, from any that pretended to be his. It is plain, therefore, that even while St. Paul was alive, there were counterfeited epistles published under his name.

3. I offer it as a conjecture, that St. Paul hath respect to the *Apocryphal Gospel of the Nazarenes*, in those words, Gal. i. 6. *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel.* For though it is always supposed, the word *gospel* here means the

<sup>u</sup> Beza, Hammond, and Whitby in loc.

<sup>x</sup> Tertullian. de Resurrect. Carn. c.

24. Origen. Epist. ad Charos suos apud Ruffin. de deprav. Origen.

<sup>y</sup> Grotius et Calvin. in loc. Cocus Cens. vet. Script. Præfat. Estius in 2 Thess. iii. 17. Fabrit. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. tom. 2. p. 916.

<sup>z</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 17.

doctrine of the gospel; yet perhaps, as I said, it is that supposititious gospel, which the Christianized Jews were so fond of, that is here meant. The reasons of my conjecture I shall lay down in the following observations; for the support of which, I think it needless to offer any arguments, the things being, I suppose, well known to all, who are at all versed in Christian antiquities.

1. *A great number of the converts to Christianity, at first, were such as professed the Jewish religion.* We are told, Acts xxi. 20. of many (μυριάδες) ten thousands of Jews, that believed and received the doctrines of Christ. Nor are we to suppose this true only of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the land of Palestine, but of those also who lived in Gentile countries, and very probably many of them, such who had been converted before from paganism to Judaism<sup>a</sup>.

2. *These were generally such, who were for mixing Judaism with Christianity, and taught as necessary, not only a belief of Jesus as the Messiah, but an observance of the laws of Moses.* This is very evident from the whole scope of several of St. Paul's Epistles. And Epiphanius tells us<sup>b</sup>, the Nazarenes (by which name these half Christians were called) "differed little or nothing from the Jews in any thing, only that they believed in Christ."

3. *The better to support and propagate their principles, they had a gospel suited to their own judgments, and called by their own names.* This they were so exceeding fond of, as to reject all others<sup>c</sup>.

4. *The converts to Christianity among the Galatians were certainly much prevailed upon by these Nazarenes, to intermix Judaism with Christianity.* And for this very reason St. Paul wrote this Epistle to them, in order to prevent their being any further deluded by them. This is plain by the whole design of the letter; and therefore,

5. When in this Epistle he makes mention of any false gos-

<sup>a</sup> Il semble qu'une grande partie de ceux qui embrassèrent les premiers l'Evangile dans ces lieux-là, étoient des gens qui étoient passez premièrement du paganisme dans le Judaïsme, et qui reçurent ensuite la religion Chrétienne. Vid. Le Clerc in Gal. i. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Τὰ πάντα δὲ εἰσὶν Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οὕτως ἵταρον——καὶ ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πάντα καλῶς ἡμολογοῦσι, χωρὶς τοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν δοῦναι πιστοποιεῖναι. Hæres. 29. §. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. et 27.

pel, by which they had been seduced to the principles of the Nazarenes, *it must be very unreasonable to suppose, he did not mean the Gospel of the Nazarenes.*

Coroll. If in the apostles' times, while they were yet alive, there were so many spurious and supposititious pieces published, it is not strange, if we find a much greater number after their deaths, as the Christian religion spread further; of which in the following chapter.

### CHAP. III.

*A large catalogue of all the lost apocryphal books, which are mentioned by the writers of the first four centuries, with the places where they are mentioned.*

HAVING given some account of the apocryphal books under the apostles' names during their life, I proceed now to give some account of *the vast number of such books, that were in the world soon afterwards.*

Papias of Hierapolis, who was one of St. John's disciples, an intimate of Polycarp, and called "a person of antiquity" by Irenæus<sup>d</sup>, who himself lived in the second century, tells us<sup>e</sup>, in the preface of his Commentary on our Saviour's sayings, that "the books he had read concerning Christ were not so profitable to him, as the conversation of those, who had been intimate with the apostles;" which, as he never would have said concerning any inspired books, shews he had met with several, which he did not look upon as such<sup>f</sup>.

Hegesippus (contemporary with Justin Martyr about the year of Christ 150, called by Gobarus<sup>g</sup> ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποστολικός) in his Commentaries has a Discourse concerning the apocryphal books, "several of which," he says, "were made by the heretics of his time<sup>h</sup>."

Irenæus<sup>i</sup> observes, that "the Gnosticks had in his time an innumerable multitude of spurious and apocryphal books,"

<sup>d</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 5. c. 33.

<sup>e</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c.

39.

<sup>f</sup> If he had judged them the undoubted writings of the apostles, he must have been better satisfied there-

with, than any uncertain traditions.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 232.

p. 894.

<sup>h</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 22.

<sup>i</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 17.

which they had forged to delude the more weak and ignorant sort of persons, filled with the most impious and blasphemous assertions. After these times, Origen<sup>k</sup>, Jerome<sup>l</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>m</sup>, Ambrose<sup>n</sup>, and others, tell us of great numbers of these books, made use of by the heretics of their times. Philastrius, in his catalogue of heresies, names one *Hæresis Apocrypha*<sup>o</sup>, viz. of such, who opposed other books to the truly canonical ones.

Of these books *some are quite lost*, and not so much as the name, or the least part of them remaining. Of others *there are some few fragments* remaining in the writings of the fathers, but without any express intimation, out of what books they were taken. *Of others there are undoubted fragments*, with the names of the books, from whence they were cited. *Others perhaps are still extant*.

For the better managing my design, I shall consider them under the general division of books which are lost, and books which are yet extant; and, according to my proposal, treat first *concerning those which are lost, or not extant*. And as it is necessary to my design, so I hope it will not be unserviceable, to present the reader with as large and full a collection of these, as I have been able to make, from the writers of the four first centuries after the birth of Christ: my collection proceeds no further for these three reasons, viz.

1. Because by the end of the fourth century, or thereabouts, *there will appear to be almost an universal agreement concerning the canon*, and what books should be received into it.

2. Because the writers of the *succeeding centuries are, upon many accounts, very improper evidences in this matter*.

3. Because the books mentioned afterwards under the names of the apostles, &c. *have either very slender, or indeed no pretences at all, to canonical authority*. Such are many of those mentioned in Mr. Toland's Catalogue, under the pompous titles of St. Matthew, Mark, &c.

For these reasons I have spared myself the needless labour of reading, or searching into the writers of the fifth and following centuries; and shall now proceed to the Catalogue itself.

<sup>k</sup> Homil. in Luc. i. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Præf. in Matth.

<sup>m</sup> Adv. Hæres. sæpe.

<sup>n</sup> Comment. in Luc. i. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Hæres. 87.

*\*A Catalogue of books not extant now, formerly published under the names of our Saviour, his apostles, their companions, &c. with the places, where they are mentioned by any of the writers of the first four centuries after Christ.*

N. B. The reader is not to think it strange, when he finds the same book mentioned in this catalogue more than once; my design being to produce every place, where there is any mention of them.

*In the first century.*

**AFTER** the most diligent search into the supposed writers of the first century, I cannot find that any one of them has mentioned so much as one apocryphal writing by name. Barnabas, Hermas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Polycarp, in the pieces now extant under their names, never, in any one place, cite by name any apocryphal gospel. It must indeed be confessed, there are several passages in their writings, which, as they are not in our Gospels, seem to be taken out of some others: but these are all some sayings of our Saviour, which, with whatever others are to be found of the same sort, shall be produced, and critically examined, in the second part of this work.

It may not, however, be improper here to observe, that there are two or three passages, from whence some have concluded, that beside those Epistles we now have of St. Paul's, he wrote others, now lost. For instance, from those words, 1 Cor. v. 9. *I wrote to you, in an epistle, not to company with fornicators*; they conclude, he had sent the Corinthians an epistle before that, which is now called the first. And Mr. Gregory of Oxford<sup>p</sup> tells us, "he saw a third Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in the Armenian tongue, beginning, *Paul a servant of Jesus Christ*;" but this, and the other instances, I design particularly to examine hereafter.

*In the SECOND CENTURY the following apocryphal books are mentioned.*

By HEGESIPPUS.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Lib. Commentar. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 22.*

<sup>p</sup> Preface to his Works, p. 11.

By IRENEUS.

The Gospel written by Judas Iscariot. *Advers. Hæres.* lib. 1. c. 35.

The Gospel of Truth, made use of by the Valentinians. *Id.* lib. 3. c. 11.

By HERACLEON.

The Preaching of Peter. *Apud Origen.* lib. 14. *Comment. in Joan.* iv. 22.

By SERAPION, bishop of Antioch.

The Gospel of Peter. *Lib. de Evang. Pet. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 6. c. 12.

Dr. Cave saith<sup>a</sup>, Serapion has cited the Acts of Peter; but I believe he is mistaken in this matter, there being nothing of it in Eusebius.

By APOLLONIUS.

A Catholic Epistle of Themison the Montanist, forged in imitation of the Apostles. *Lib. cont. Cataphryg. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 5. c. 18.

By CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Stromat.* l. 2. p. 380.

The Gospel according to the Egyptians. *Lib.* 3. p. 452, 465. See also p. 445.

The Traditions of Matthias. *Lib.* 2. p. 380. lib. 7. p. 748. See also lib. 3. p. 436.

The Preaching of Peter, or, according to some, of Paul and Peter, as one book. *Lib.* 1. p. 357. l. 2. p. 390. l. 6. p. 635, 636, et 678.

The Revelation of Peter. *Lib. Hypotypos. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* lib. 6. c. 14.

By THEODOTUS BYZANTIUS.

The Preaching of Peter. *Excerpt. seu Eclog.* p. 809. printed after the end of Clemens Alexandrinus's Works.

The Revelation of Peter. *Ibid.* p. 806, 807.

By TERTULLIAN.

The Acts of Paul and Thecla. *Lib. de Baptism.* c. 17. About twenty-three years since, our learned countryman, Dr. Mills, caused the Martyrdom of Thecla to be copied out of the Greek manuscript in the Bodleian Library, and presented it to Dr. Grabe, who has since published it in his *Spicileg. Patr.*

<sup>a</sup> *Histor. Liter. in Petrus*, p. 5.

Secul. I. and endeavours to prove it to be the same with this book mentioned by Tertullian. How right his conjecture is, will appear when we come to examine the book itself.

The Gospel of Valentinus. *Lib. de Præscript. adv. Hæretic.* c. 49.

The Gospel of Marcion. *Lib. 4. adv. Marcion.* c. 2, 4, et 6.

The Gospel of Peter. *Ibid.* c. 5.

By CAIUS, a presbyter of Rome.

The Revelation of Cerinthus, pretending to be apostolical.

*Lib. Disput. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 28.

*In the THIRD CENTURY, the following apocryphal books are mentioned.*

By ORIGEN.

The Gospel according to the Egyptians. *Homil. in Luc.* i. 1.

The Gospel according to the twelve Apostles. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Basilides. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Thomas. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Matthias. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Peter. *Comment. in Matth.* xiii. 55, 56. *Tom.* 1. p. 223.

The Book of James. *Ibid.*

The Doctrine of Peter. *Proœm. in Libr. de Princip.*

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Tract. 8. in Matth.* xix. 19.

The same. *Tom. 2. in Joan.* p. 58.

The Acts of Paul. *De Princip.* l. 1. c. 2.

The same. *Tom. 2. in Joan.* p. 298.

By CYPRIAN.

A spurious piece under the name of Paul, *Epist.* 27.

By an anonymous writer in Cyprian's time.

The Preaching of Paul. *Tract. de non iterand. Baptism.* p. 30. at the end of Cyprian's Works.

By LACTANTIUS.

The Preaching of Peter and Paul at Rome. *De Verâ Sap.* l. 4. c. 21.

*In the FOURTH CENTURY are mentioned the following books.*

By EUSEBIUS.

The Acts of Peter. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Porphyry, in his life of Plotinus, accuses the Christians with having forged

several books, under the title of Revelations, viz. of Zoroaster, Zostrianus,



The Gospel of Peter. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3.

The Preaching of Peter. *Ibid.*

The Revelation of Peter. *Ibid.*

The Acts of Paul. *Ibid.*

The same. Lib. 3. c. 25.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Ibid.*

The Revelation of Peter. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Peter. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Thomas. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Matthias. *Ibid.*

The Acts of Andrew and John. *Ibid.*

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. C. 39.

The Gospel of Tatian. Lib. 4. c. 29.

The Book of the Helkesaites, which, they say, fell down from heaven. Lib. 6. c. 38.

By ATHANASIUS.

The Acts of Peter. *Synops. S. Scriptur.* §. 76.\*

The Acts of John. *Ibid.*

The Acts of Thomas. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Thomas. *Ibid.*

By CYRIL.

The Gospel of Thomas. *Catech.* IV. §. 36. and *Catech.* VI. §. 31.

The Gospel of Scythianus. *Catech.* VI. §. 22.

By AMBROSE.

The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles. *Comment. in Luc.* i. 1.

The Gospel of Basilides. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Thomas. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Matthias. *Ibid.*

By the anonymous author of the works under the name of

DIONYSIUS the AREOPAGITE.

The writings of Bartholomew the Apostle. *Lib. de Theol. Mystic.* c. 1.

By PHILASTRIUS.

The Acts of Andrew. *Hæres.* 87.

The Acts of John. *Ibid.*

Nicoteus, Allogenes, Mesus, and several others.

\* I confess, it has been much questioned, whether that book, under the name of Athanasius, be really his, or

not: but though I thought it necessary to mention this here, yet it is not very material to our design, whether it was written by him, or any other person in or near his time.

The Acts of Peter. *Hæres.* 87.

The Acts of Paul. *Ibid.*

By JEROME.

The Gospel according to the Egyptians. *Præf. in Comment. in Matth.*

The Gospel of Thomas. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Matthias. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Bartholomew. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Basilides. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Apelles. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Peter. *Catal. Script. Eccles. in Petr.*

The Acts of Peter. *Ibid.*

The Preaching of Peter. *Ibid.*

The Revelation of Peter.

The Book of Judgment by Peter. *Ibid.*

The Gospels published by Lucianus and Hesychius. *Præfat. in Evang. ad Damas.*

The Acts of the Apostles, by Leuthon, or Seleucus. *Epist. ad Chromat. et Heliodor. inter Opp. Hieronymi.*<sup>t</sup>

The Vision, or Acts of Paul and Thecla. *Catal. Script. Eccles. in Luc.*

The Gospel of Bartholomew. *Ibid. in Pantæn.*

The Gospel according to the Hebrews, or Nazarenes. *Ibid. in Matth. et Jacob. Adv. Pelag.* l. 3. c. 1. *Comment. in Isai.* xi. 2. et xl. 11. *in Ezek.* xviii. 7. *in Mic.* vii. 6. Several places in his Commentary on Matthew, viz. vi. 11. xii. 13. xxiii. 35. *Vid. Grab. Spicileg. Patr.* tom. 1. p. 30.

By EPIPHANIUS.

The Gospel of Perfection. *Hæres.* 26. *Gnostic.* §. 2.

The Gospel of Eve. *Ibid.*

The Gospel of Philip. *Ibid.* §. 13.

The Gospel of the Nazarenes. *Hæres.* 29. §. 9.

The Gospel of the Ebionites. *Hæres.* 30. §. 13.

The Acts of the Apostles, made use of by the Ebionites, different from Luke's. *Ibid.* §. 16.

<sup>t</sup> Some have imagined this epistle not to be Jerome's. See Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. et Casaub. Exer-

cit. 1. ad Apparat. Baron. Annal. N. 39. init.

Books forged by the Ebionites under the names of John, James, Matthew, and others of our Lord's disciples. *Ibid.* §. 23.

The Acts of Peter. *Ibid.* §. 15.

The Gospel of Jude. *Hæres.* 38. *Caian.* §. 1.

The Anabaticon, or Revelation of Paul. *Ibid.* §. 2.

The Gospel of Marcion. *Hæres.* 42. *Proæm. Refut.*

The Gospel of the Encratites. *Hæres.* 46. §. 1.

The Acts of Andrew, John, and Thomas. *Hæres.* 47. §. 1.

The Gospel of Cerinthus. *Hæres.* 51. §. 7.

u The Gospel of Merinthus. *Ibid.*

The Acts of Andrew and Thomas. *Hæres.* 61. §. 1.

The Gospel of the Egyptians. *Hæres.* 62. §. 2.

The Acts of Andrew. *Hæres.* 63. §. 2.

The Gospel of Scythianus. *Hæres.* 66. §. 2.

By AUSTIN.

Some books, which claimed our Saviour for their author, in form of an epistle to Peter and Paul. *De Consens. Evang.* l. 1. c. 9, 10.

Some other books of our Saviour's. *Ibid.* c. 34.

An Epistle of Christ, produced by the Manichees. *Cont. Faust. Manich.* l. 28. c. 4.

A Hymn of Christ's, which he taught his disciples, received by the Priscillianists, and other heretics, as genuine. *Epist. ad Ceret. Episcop.*

Some books under the names of John and Andrew. *Cont. Advers. Leg. et Prophet.* l. 1. c. 20.

The Acts of Lentius<sup>x</sup>, under the names of the Apostles. *Lib. de Fid. contr. Manich.* c. 38.

The Acts of the Apostles, wrote by Lenticius<sup>y</sup>, *De Act. cum Fælic. Manich.* l. 2. c. 6.

The Acts of Leontius<sup>z</sup>, under the Apostles' names. *Lib. de Fid. cont. Manich.* c. 5.

The Acts of the Apostles, made use of by the Manichees. *Lib. cont. Adimant. Manich.* c. 17.

The Revelation of Paul. *Tract.* 98. *in Joan. in fin.*

<sup>u</sup> These two of Cerinthus and Merinthus, he supposes, St. Luke intended in the first verse of his Gospel, among other apocryphal ones, which

were at that time written.

<sup>x</sup> Al. Leucius.

<sup>y</sup> Al. Leucius et Levitius.

<sup>z</sup> Al. Leucius.

By RUFFIN.

The Judgment of Peter. *Exposit. in Symbol. Apostol.* §. 36.

By INNOCENT I.

Books forged under the name of Matthias.

Books forged under the name of James the Less.

Books forged under the names of Peter and John, wrote by Lentius <sup>a</sup>.

Books forged under the name of Andrew, wrote by Nexocharistes <sup>b</sup> and Leonides.

Books forged under the name of Thomas. *Epist. 3. ad Exuper. Tholos. Episc.* §. 7.

By GELASIUS.

The Acts of Andrew.

The Acts of Philip.

The Acts of Peter.

The Acts of Thomas.

The Gospel of Thaddæus.

The Gospel of Matthias.

The Gospel of Thomas.

The Gospel of Barnabas.

The Gospel of Bartholomew.

The Gospel of Andrew.

The Gospels corrupted by Lucian.

The Gospels corrupted by Hesychius <sup>c</sup>.

The Books of Lentitius <sup>d</sup>.

The Acts of Thecla and Paul.

The Revelation of Thomas.

The Revelation of Paul.

The Revelation of Stephen. See the decree under Gelasius's name, *de Libris Apocryph. apud Gratian. Distinct.* 15. c. 3. <sup>e</sup> Whether, as some imagine, it was wrote within my time or no, I shall not here inquire; only observe, that if it was not, it was so very near it, that I thought it necessary to insert it.

These are all the apocryphal books, not extant, which I have been able to find any mention of in the writers of the four first centuries after our Saviour. I proposed, indeed, to have annexed here the catalogue of the books still extant in like

<sup>a</sup> Al. Leucius.

<sup>b</sup> Al. Xenocharides.

<sup>c</sup> Al. Isitius.

<sup>d</sup> Al. Leucius.

<sup>e</sup> Et apud Concil. Sanct. tom. 4. p. 1260.

manner as the not extant ; but this catalogue will be so necessary in the third part of this work, that I shall defer the producing it in full, or at large, till then ; and in the mean time desire the reader to be content with the following general account.

*The apocryphal books extant are, such as*

Our Saviour's Letter to Abgarus.

Our Saviour's Letter, which fell down from Heaven at Jerusalem, directed to a Priest named Leopas, in the City Eris.

The Constitutions of the Apostles.

The Creed of the Apostles.

The Apostolical Epistles of Barnabas, Clemens, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

The Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour.

The Prot-Evangelium of St. James.

The Gospel of Nicodemus.

The Martyrdom of Thecla, or Acts of Paul.

Abdias's History of the Twelve Apostles.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans.

St. Paul's Six Letters to Seneca, &c.

Upon the whole, we may see, how great the number of spurious and apocryphal pieces was in the ages next after our Saviour.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Reasons assigned, why there were so many apocryphal pieces so early in the Christian church.*

**M**ANY who are not acquainted with the first writers of Christianity, will, no doubt, be surprised to see so large a catalogue of books, so early written under such specious titles : before I proceed therefore, it may not be improper to observe, *how it came to pass that the number of them became so large, or for what reasons they were wrote.* And,

1. *The very great number of heresies and divisions, that arose among the Christians soon after the publishing of the Gospel, I assign as the principal cause of this multitude of books.* It is indeed strange, that a religion so exactly calcu-

lated to promote unity, should have been so much abused, and its professors divided into so many various parties, and different denominations, as we find they were immediately after our Lord's ascension. Hegesippus indeed tells us <sup>f</sup>, that "till Trajan's time (near which himself lived) the church continued "as a pure and uncorrupted virgin:" but this (as learned men have observed) must be candidly understood <sup>g</sup>, not as though there were at this time no heresies arose in the church, but that they had not yet so much spread themselves, and disturbed the peace of the church: for it is certain, that even in the apostles' times many had perverted the great truths of Christianity; St. Paul often hints at such in his epistles <sup>h</sup>; Peter <sup>i</sup> and Jude <sup>k</sup> do the same; and John expressly mentions the Nicolaitans and others <sup>l</sup>. In their time lived Simon Magus, to whom so many heresies owed their original. It would be tedious to mention the heresies of the second century, the various sorts of Gnostics <sup>m</sup>, the Valentinians, Menandrians, Nicolaitans, &c. the Nazarenes, Ebionites, Cerinthians, Carpocratians, Montanists, the followers of Cerdon, Marcion, Tatian, &c. He who has a mind, may see large catalogues of these in Irenæus, Epiphanius, Austin, &c. What concerns me to observe is, that upon account of these differing parties, a great part of those books were composed, which make up the foregoing catalogue; each party striving to recommend and propagate their principles and tenets under the great name of some apostle or disciple of our Saviour. This will largely appear in the particular examination of the books; at present it will be sufficient, to support the observation from the express testimonies of some ancient writers.

Irenæus <sup>n</sup> tells us, "the Gnostics had in his time forged an "innumerable multitude of spurious and apocryphal books, "which they spread abroad in order to pervert ignorant and "unwary persons." Hegesippus who lived at the same time, in a dissertation concerning the apocryphal books of the New

<sup>f</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 32. et l. 4. c. 22.

<sup>g</sup> Vales. ad prior. loc. Euseb. et Spanheim. Histor. Christian. Secul. 1. §. 14. init.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 26. Gal. i. 6, &c. ii. 4, &c. 2 Tim. ii. 17.

<sup>i</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Jude 4. and 12.

<sup>l</sup> Rev. ii. 15. and 20.

<sup>m</sup> The learned Dr. Hammond, in his Annotations on St. Paul's Epistles, meets with them continually there.

<sup>n</sup> Advers. Hæres. l. 1. c. 17. 'Δμιύθηται πλῆθος ἀποκερῖσαι καὶ ἰόθως γραφῶν, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυάσαν, περιεσφίγγουσιν εἰς παντάπῃς τῶν ἀνοήτων, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ πιστομαίον γραμματα.

Testament<sup>o</sup>, assures us, “they were many of them made by “the heretics of that age.” If any regard be to be given to the Constitutions of the Apostles, not as a sacred, but an ancient book, we are there told<sup>p</sup>, “the ungodly wrote several “books in their name; that Simon and Cleobius, and their “followers, did compile poisonous books under the name of “Christ and his disciples, and do carry them about in order “to deceive,” &c.

2. It is not improbable, *that some of the forementioned books were composed by honest and pious men, with design to preserve some miracles and discourses of our Saviour, which they had received by an undoubted tradition, and did not meet with in any of the authentic Gospels.* It can hardly be thought, but Papias, and such others, who, like him, were so industrious in procuring all accounts they could of our Lord’s sayings and actions, would, out of the same principle, transmit them to others; which accounts, falling afterwards into the hands of some zealous and well-meaning persons, were, either through mistake, or perhaps a more pious than honest design, published under the name of some one of our Lord’s apostles or followers, and that sometimes with many additions and interpolations. The learned Casaubon (than whom no one was either more acquainted with, or more judicious in Christian antiquities) has observed this, in his dissertations against Baronius<sup>q</sup>; “I cannot,” says he, “but much resent the practice “of many in the earliest ages of the church, who reckoned it “an action very meritorious to make additions of their own to “the truths of the gospel, with this view, that Christianity “might meet with a better reception among the Gentiles.” They called these, officious lies, contrived for a pious end. This produced innumerable books in those ages, wrote by men who were not bad, under the name of our Saviour, his apostles, and followers. Among these books, that excellent critic places the Sibylline Oracles, and several of the preceding catalogue. But, of all these, none seems to me more likely to have proceeded from this cause, than that famous book in an-

<sup>p</sup> Ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρίτων πρὸς τοὺς αἰρετικῶν ἀναπιστάσθαι τινὰ ταύτων (sc. ἀπακρίβων) ἰσχυροῖ. Apud Enseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 22.

<sup>p</sup> Const. Apost. l. 6. §. 16.

<sup>q</sup> Exercit. 1. cont. Baron. Annal. N. 10. p. 54.

tiquity, entitled, *The Preaching of Peter and Paul*. I would only add, that Tertullian<sup>r</sup> and Jerome have furnished us with an undoubted and remarkable instance of this, in the book called, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*: “This spurious piece,” say those authors, “was wrote by a certain presbyter in Asia, under the name of Paul, who being convicted of the forgery, confessed it, and said, he did it out of love to Paul,” &c.<sup>s</sup>

## CHAP. V.

*A general proof, that the primitive Christians were well agreed about the books of the canon.*

## PROP. II.

The greatest part of Christians were very early agreed, what books were canonical, and to be looked upon as the rule of faith and practice.

IT would certainly evidence a very great ignorance in ecclesiastical history in any person, to pretend to assign the particular time, when the present collection, or canon of the books of the New Testament, was made: for though we have all imaginable reason to conclude this certainly done long before the council of Laodicea, yet the histories of those times are so defective, that we have no positive account of that matter. The canon was indeed gradually enlarged, as the books were wrote at different times, and in places at a very great distance from each other; and so a considerable time was necessarily requisite, both for the spreading the books, and certifying their genuineness and authority. It is impossible in the nature of things, but some churches must receive the books long after others, as they lay at a greater distance from the places where they were written, or had less convenience of communication with them. Besides, Christianity for a long time laboured under the disadvantages of continual persecution; no general councils could be convened, and so no public notification of universal agreement in this matter. But notwithstanding all these things, it is yet discoverable, that, as soon as can be supposed after the writing of the books, the Christians in all coun-

<sup>r</sup> Lib. de Baptism. c. 17.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Luc.



tries remarkably agreed in receiving them as canonical: for the proof of which I observe,

1. *That in the few genuine writings of the first ages now extant, the same books are cited as scripture.* It is indeed, without just reason, commonly presumed, that the first writers cited the now-received books of the canon, *and others promiscuously.* But as I shall hereafter shew this to be a mistake, so it will be enough here to observe, that they were generally agreed in receiving the same books for canonical, which we do now; and this appears, I say, from their agreement to cite them, as every one must acknowledge, who has but cast an eye upon the writings of the first centuries. To say nothing of the apostolic fathers, such as Clemens, Barnabas, &c. it is evident, that Justin Martyr at Neapolis, Theophilus at Antioch, Irenæus in France, Clemens at Alexandria, Tertullian at Carthage, &c. (who all lived within 120 or 130 years after our Lord's ascension, and some of them much sooner, and but a very short time after the writing of the books) have all, though in very remote countries, quoted many, or most, if not all the same books as scripture. The same might be observed concerning Origen, Cyprian, and other writers of the next century. But, to omit these, I observe,

2. *That several of the first writers of Christianity have left us, in their works, catalogues of the sacred books of the New Testament,* which, though made in countries at a vast distance from each other, do very little differ. A particular account of all the catalogues, I shall give hereafter in this volume; I shall only instance now in those of Origen<sup>t</sup> and Eusebius<sup>u</sup>, which he who will be at the pains to compare, will easily perceive to be very nearly the same. So great was the pains and care of those early Christians, to be well assured what were the genuine writings of the apostles, and to distinguish them from all the pretended revelations of designing men, and the forgeries they published under sacred titles. Thus when the presbyter of Asia above mentioned<sup>x</sup> had published a spurious piece under the name of Paul, "he was immediately convicted, and

<sup>t</sup> Comment. in Matth. init. et Comment. in Joan. l. 5. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. sup. p. 36.

“notice of the forgery was soon conveyed to Carthage, and  
“the churches of Africa.”

Coroll. I. Hence it follows, that Mr. Dodwell's opinion <sup>r</sup>, espoused with so much zeal by Mr. Toland in his *Amyntor* <sup>z</sup>, is utterly false, viz. “That the books of the present canon lay  
“concealed in the coffers of particular churches, or private  
“men, till the later times of Trajan, or perhaps of Adrian,  
“not known to the clergy or churches of those times, nor yet  
“distinguished from the spurious pieces of the heretics.” For besides that it has been already proved, by Mr. Nye <sup>a</sup> and Mr. Le Clerc <sup>b</sup>, that the writers of the apostolic age were well acquainted with, because they frequently cite several books of, our present canon; I add, from what has been said, that if these books had not been well known in Adrian's time, but then lay concealed, it would have been impossible for them to have spread so much by the middle of the second century, as to have been quoted by all the writers of it, in whatever countries they lived <sup>c</sup>.

Coroll. II. Hence it also follows, *that the primitive Christians are proper judges, to determine what book is canonical, and what not*; for nothing can be more absurd, than to suppose, in those early ages, an agreement so universal, without a good and solid foundation; or, in other words, it is next to impossible, either that so great a number of men should agree in a cheat, or be imposed upon by a cheat. The celebrated Huetius takes this for granted, and lays it down as his first axiom, “That every book is genuine, which was esteemed genuine by those, who lived nearest to the time when it was  
“written, and by the ages succeeding in a continued series.  
“This,” says he, “is an axiom that cannot be disputed by  
“those, who will allow any thing at all to be certain in history.” Demonstr. Evang. Axiom. 1. But there are some particular circumstances, which will make the inference more clear as to the Christian books, than others, such as *the prodigious esteem the books at first were received with, the con-*

<sup>r</sup> In Iren. Dissert. 1. §. 38.

<sup>z</sup> Amynt. p. 69.

<sup>a</sup> Answer to Amyntor, p. 47. &c.  
See my Vindic. of St. Matth. p. 225.  
&c.

<sup>b</sup> Dissert. 3. at the end of his Harmony.

<sup>c</sup> Justin Martyr unquestionably lived in Adrian's time, and Irenæus not long after. Vid. Euseb. Chronic.

*stant use that was made of them in their religious assemblies, the translations made of them very early into other languages; these, I say, and many other such circumstances there are, which all concur to make an imposture in this case almost impossible.*

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# CHAP. VI.

*The various sentiments of learned men concerning the methods of determining the canonical authority of any book, inquired into and particularly discussed.*

## PROP. III.

The main and principal method, by which we are now able to determine the canonical authority of any book, or books, is by searching into the most ancient and authentic records of Christianity, and finding out the testimony or tradition of those, who lived nearest the time in which the books were written, concerning them.

**THE** preceding corollary evidenced the first Christians to be proper judges; the design of this proposition is to shew, that they are the main and principal judges, by whom we must determine the question concerning the canon of the New Testament. Though the proposition may at first seem clear and evident, the disputes of many, both foreign and English divines, have made it necessary more largely to be discussed: for the truth is, it has happened here, as in many other cases, the clearest truths have become strangely perplexed and confounded. Such is the zeal of the contending parties among Christians, that because they differ in some things, they think themselves obliged to differ in all they can, and so arise disputes about questions, which are in themselves plain, and the fiercest contention about things, in which both sides would most certainly agree, if they had but patience and impartiality enough to know each other's meaning. This is in a great measure the case in the present question, concerning the authority of the scriptures: some tell us, *they derive their authority from the church*; others, that *they can only rightly appear to be true from their own internal evidence, and their powerful influence on the heart*; others add to this, *the inward testimony of the Spirit evidencing their divinity*, and consequently

*their genuineness*; others, lastly, are persuaded, we have no other way of knowing whether any book was written by the person whose name it bears, and consequently whether it be of the authority it pretends to derive from its author, *but by well-approved testimonies of those, who lived in or near the time of its being first written.* I shall first give some brief account of each of these opinions, and then endeavour to shew what is most probable upon the whole.

1. *The first is the opinion of the papists, who have generally affirmed, in their controversies with the protestants, that the authority of the scriptures depends upon, or is derived from, the power of their church: i. e. It is in the power of the pope, or council, or both, to determine what books shall be received as canonical.* This is a matter so well known, that I shall not produce many instances to prove it. Hermannus, in the abundance of his zeal, affirms<sup>d</sup> “the scriptures are of no more value than *Æsop’s Fables*, without the authority of the church;” and Bailius<sup>e</sup>, “that he should give no more credit to Saint Matthew, than Livy, unless the church obliged him.” Tile-tanus, bishop of Ypres, says, “This is the only way of distinguishing between canonical and apocryphal scriptures<sup>f</sup>.” To the same purpose Pighius, Eckius, Bellarmine, and many of their most celebrated writers<sup>g</sup>. By the authority of the church, these authors plainly mean a power lodged in the church of Rome, and her synods, of determination, what books are the word of God; than which nothing can be more absurd, or contradictory to common sense: for if so, it is possible, nay it is easy for them, to make a book, which is not divine, to be so; and (to make use of Hermannus’s instance) it is possible *Æsop’s Fables* may in time become as good a part of scripture, as Saint Paul’s Epistles: nay, once more, it is very possible the books of Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry, were they extant, might become a part of the New Testament, though they were designedly written against it. But the folly of the

<sup>d</sup> Apud Whitaker. Controv. de Script. Quest. 3. c. 1. et Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trid. Par. 1. p. 85.

<sup>e</sup> Rivet. Isag. ad Script. Sacr. c. 3. §. 4. &c.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. c. 3. §. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. c. 3. §. 3, 4. &c. Whitaker. Controv. de Script. Sacr. Quest. 3. c. 1. Amyrald. Thes. de Auctor. Script. inter Thes. Salmurienses. Calvin. Instit. Christ. Rel. 1. 1. c. 7. §. 1.

popish arguments in this instance, has been so well exposed by Whitaker, Chemnitius, Rivet, and many others of our reformers, that I think it sufficient to refer the reader, who has a mind to know more of this controversy, to their books cited in the margin.

2. Others are of opinion, that *there are inward, or innate evidences in the scriptures, which, applied by the illumination or testimony of the Holy Spirit, are the only true proofs of their being canonical, or the word of God.* To avoid the tedious and prolix disputations, that have been on this head between papists and protestants, and even between protestants themselves, I shall only give some account of the sentiments of our reformers on it, out of their own writings, and then examine how far they are true.

Among the protestants who have declared their opinion against the papists on this head, I place first our learned countryman Whitaker, who, in his controversy about the scripture against Bellarmine, gives us this account of the reformed doctrine in this matter<sup>h</sup>: "The sum," says he, "of our opinion is, that the scriptures have all their authority and credit from themselves; that they are to be acknowledged and received, not because the church has appointed or commanded so, but because they came from God: but that they came from God, cannot be certainly known by the church, but from the Holy Ghost." So Calvin<sup>i</sup>: "All must allow, that there are in the scriptures manifest evidences of God speaking in them. The majesty of God in them will presently appear to every impartial examiner, which will extort our assent: so that they act preposterously, who endeavour by any argument to beget a solid credit to the scriptures—The word will never meet with credit in men's minds, till it be sealed by the internal testimony of the Spirit, who wrote it." Much the same we meet with in the public Confessions of faith set forth by the reformed churches; for instance, in the Dutch Confession, published in French in 1566, in the name of all the Belgian churches, after having recited a catalogue of the scriptures, "These," say they, "we receive as the only sacred

<sup>h</sup> Controv. de Script. Quæst. 3. c. 1. <sup>i</sup> Instit. Christ. Relig. l. 1. c. 7. §. 4, 5.

“and canonical books, not because the church receives them as such, but because the Holy Spirit witnesseth to our consciences<sup>k</sup>, that they proceeded from God, and themselves testify their authority<sup>l</sup>.”

The Gallican church, in their Confession, go somewhat further<sup>m</sup>; not only declaring their faith in the scriptures to depend upon the testimony and internal persuasion of the Spirit, “but that hereby they knew the canonical from ecclesiastical:” i. e. *apocryphal books*. I should proceed no further in citations to this purpose, were it not for the zealous assertions of a divine famous among us in England, whose own words are<sup>n</sup>, “The scriptures of the Old and New Testament do abundantly and uncontrollably manifest themselves to be the word of the living God; so that merely on the account of their own proposal to us, in the name and majesty of God as such, without the contribution of help or assistance from tradition, church, or any thing else without themselves, we are obliged, upon the penalty of eternal damnation, to receive them with that subjection of soul, which is due to the word of God. The authority of God shining in them, they afford unto us all the divine evidence of themselves, which God is willing to grant to us, or can be granted to us, or is any way needful for us.” Such have been the assertions of the reformers, and many great men after them; which, for my part, I freely own, seem to be of a very extraordinary nature. For though I would by no means detract, either from the dignity of the canon, or from the influences of God’s holy Spirit, (to whom we certainly owe more than we commonly imagine,) yet I can by no means think the doctrine of our reformers in this matter to be very evident and clear; for neither by the internal evidences of the scriptures themselves, nor the testimony of the Spirit attending them, do men generally believe, that the scriptures of the present canon are the word of God. To consider each distinctly;

1. *As to the internal evidences of the scriptures*, I readily grant, they are such as bespeak them plainly to be the most

<sup>k</sup> Happy men! who, in such numbers, were blessed with so satisfying an evidence.

<sup>l</sup> Confess. Belgic. Art. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Confess. Gallic. Art. 4.

<sup>n</sup> See Dr. Owen’s Discourse concerning the Divine Original of the Scripture, ch. 2. §. 5. and ch. 4. 5.

excellent books in the world; but that these are such as will prove, or ought to extort our assent to, their divinity, upon pain of eternal damnation, without any other arguments, seems to be a very unguarded and groundless position. Were the great number of apocryphal books and epistles, under the names of the apostles, now extant, and had they happened to have been put in and continued in the canon till now, is it likely, is it possible, that every Christian, who now believes the scripture to be the word of God, would have distinguished between these and the books we now receive, by the divinity and majesty that appear in the one above the other? Can it be supposed, that out of a hundred books, or, as we may well suppose, out of ten thousand, (for the argument will be just the same with the largest assignable number,) that private Christians, or even our most learned reformers, should by any internal evidence, agree precisely on the number of twenty-seven, which are now esteemed canonical, induced thereto by some characters those books contain, of their being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost? Especially when we consider, how various and divided the sentiments of Christians are, who now agree in the same canon? If of these books claiming and pretending to inspiration under such names, we are to judge of their inward evidences, without any external arguments from tradition, it is most certain each party would be proportionably fond of any book, as it more or less favoured their particular scheme of notions; and those which we now know to be apocryphal books, must have been judged canonical above others, as they had more evidences of what they reckoned the mind of God, than others. If men therefore are stript of all other ways of determining, to me it seems very clear, that, considering the zeal of the contending denominations of Christians for their particular opinions, several of the books of the present canon would have been rejected, and perhaps most of them in their turns by one party or other; and so nothing could ensue but perpetual quarrels and disagreement. This will appear more probable, because it was really matter of fact, in a great measure, in the first ages of Christianity. It is well known that the heretics of those times, disregarding the true testimony or tradition of the church, and other rational arguments,

wonderfully cried up their spurious pieces under apostles' names, because they favoured their peculiar systems. Thus, for instance, the Manichees rejected many of the books of the New Testament which we now receive, and substituted<sup>o</sup> others in their room; because the former agreed, and the latter disagreed, with those ridiculous ideas they had formed of Christianity; and so contemned all other proofs, that were brought by good testimonies, &c. to evidence that our present books were the only rule of faith. But the folly and madness, as St. Austin calls it, of this sort of reasoning, is so well confuted by that father<sup>p</sup>, that I need say no more. Those therefore who are zealous for this sort of proof, would do well to consider, that this argument alone, without other external ones, does certainly make the canon of scripture uncertain, and lay men under a necessity of continual brangles and disputes. St. Paul tells us, there were in the church of Corinth *false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ: and no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light*<sup>q</sup>: such who would artfully imitate their doctrines. And if such as they had published their books under the apostles' names, imitating their style and doctrine, would it not have been exceeding difficult, yea, almost impossible, without some rational arguments, for the common Christians at Corinth to have seen the clear evidences of divinity in the one, which were not in the other? Could they, without some other assistance, have been assured, that the first and second Epistles, wrote to them under Paul's name, were his, and the third was not? Sure I am, St. Paul did not put the Christians, to whom he wrote, upon this method of knowing the genuineness of his Epistles. Though he knew them to be from God, though he proposed them as such, yet he did not apprehend the evidences of their divinity were such, as would always manifest them to be such, and infallibly direct the Christians to distinguish them from all spurious writings under his name: else what need of the caution he gives them against counterfeit epistles, and a particular mark, which he made use of in all his Epistles, to distinguish his real ones from all sup-

<sup>o</sup> August. cont. Faust. Manich. l. 32.  
c. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. l. 11. c. 2. et l. 33. c. 6.  
<sup>q</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14.



posititious ones?<sup>r</sup> This was certainly needless and superfluous, if the books themselves would extort assent from those who read them. And if it be, as Calvin says, preposterous to endeavour, by any solid arguments, to beget a solid credit to the scriptures, distinct from their internal evidence; then it was certainly preposterous in St. Paul to add that mark to his Epistles, as an evidence they were his. But perhaps it will be urged, that it is not the inward characters of the scriptures alone, but the inward testimony of the Spirit along with them, that manifests them to be genuine and of divine authority. Some indeed there are, who join these two arguments together as one, but generally they are made distinct; I shall therefore consider,

2. *How far the opinion of our reformers, and others after them, concerning the testimony of the Spirit to the truth of the scriptures, is to be depended upon.* What their opinion is, may be seen from their own words, produced at large above: the substance is, that we are to have recourse to some secret illumination or testimony of the Spirit, by which alone we can be convinced rightly, what scriptures are the word of God. That the influences of the Holy Spirit are necessary to produce such a faith in divine things, as shall effectually transform the heart, and powerfully incline the soul to a due obedience to the gospel, can be reasonably denied by none, who own the account the scripture has given of his offices to be true. To open our eyes to see that evidence of scripture verity which is already extant, to remove our blindness, and, by further sanctifying, to remove our natural enmity to the truth, &c. is a testimony of the Spirit, which every good Christian ought to hope and pray for<sup>s</sup>. Some have thought this was all our reformers meant, among whom is Dr. Calamy, in his excellent *Sermons of Inspiration*<sup>t</sup>: but the passages above make it evident, as Mr. Baxter observes<sup>u</sup>, that it is another kind of testimony than this, which many great divines resolve their faith into; in short, no other than an immediate revelation or inspiration, like that of the prophets or apostles. But concerning this I observe,

<sup>r</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 2. &c.—iii. 17. See above, p. 21, 22.

<sup>t</sup> *Serm. 2. p. 40.*

<sup>u</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>s</sup> *Saints' Rest, part 2. c. 2. §. 3.*

1. That if any are made happy with this argument to convince them, *it can only be an argument to himself*, and cannot be made use of to convince another; because he may justly except either against the judgment or veracity of him who pretends to it. "This is only an argument," says bishop Burnet\*, "to him that feels it, if it be one at all." If therefore we attempt to reconcile a heathen, Jew, or unbeliever, as all men once were, to the belief of the scriptures, it must be by some other arguments.

2. To assert, the scriptures only can be proved by the testimony of the Spirit, *is very likely to introduce such enthusiasm among Christians, as will infallibly render the canon of scripture uncertain and precarious*. For as every person is, and must be, judge of this testimony, it is not strange if men should urge it for other books, which are not commonly received: and if they do so, how can these divines answer them? Will they say, the Spirit never does nor can give his testimony, but to books of his own inspiration, and consequently not to any but the books of our present canon? This would be plain trifling, because it supposes the thing, which is to be proved, for granted; it first supposes the books are inspired, and then proves that they are so, because they are so. And yet no better answer can be given to one, who claims inspiration for an apocryphal book, by those who allow no other arguments but the testimony of the Spirit. Upon this principle, therefore, men are at their liberty to bring in all the rhapsodies of the ancient heretics, if they please, and there is no opposing them. They pretend the testimony of the Spirit for their book, and we can do no more for ours. How uncertain this leaves the canon, every one must see: besides, to use the words of the ingenious writer just mentioned, "If a person say, he is assured of the inspiration of the scriptures now received, by the inspiration of the same Spirit who indited them, it is natural to inquire, what evidence he has, that this inspiration he pretends to is real, and not imaginary? that it is from the Spirit of God, and not from a spirit of delusion? His only answer, I suppose, must be this: That he is satisfied in the same way the sacred penmen were at first, as to

\* On Artic. VI. p. 79.

“their inspiration. And let this be admitted, and a wide gap is opened to enthusiasm, and there is no remedy.”

3. I argue against this, as the only right method of proving the canon of scripture *from matter of fact, or by appeal to the consciences of all men.* According to this hypothesis, all men, who believe the scripture to be the word of God, must have the testimony of the Spirit. Now I ask, whether it be not notorious in fact, that multitudes firmly believe the truth of the revelation, who are neither conscious of any inspiration, nor even desired it, nor even so much as heard of the necessity of it? Did the Spirit ever tell them, or do they so much as pretend it told them, they should receive one book, and reject another? “For my part,” said Mr. Baxter<sup>2</sup>, “I confess, I could never boast of any such testimony or light of the Spirit, nor reason neither, which, without human testimony, would have made me believe, that the Book of Canticles is canonical, and written by Solomon, and the Book of Wisdom apocryphal, and written by Philo, &c. Nor could I have known all, or any historical books, such as Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, &c. to be written by divine inspiration, but by tradition, &c.” He speaks, without doubt, the common sentiments of most Christians; and if the matter of fact be thus, there can be no possible method of answering the argument, but by saying, the greatest part of them who profess to believe, do not believe the scriptures, and that the unregenerate cannot believe them to be the word of God; which though some, through a too great fondness for their opinion, have ventured to assert, is so very rude and groundless a charge, that it deserves no answer. I conclude this head with the words of a late writer above-cited<sup>1</sup>; “I cannot see, how any immediate revelation of the Spirit should be necessary to a rational conviction in this case; or how we can suppose the divine Spirit should whisper it in the ear of every man, that is satisfied upon this head, that this book we call the Bible is of divine inspiration.” Thus I have endeavoured to make way for, and indeed I hope in a great measure established, my first proposition, That tra-

<sup>1</sup> Loc. sup. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Pref. to part 2. of *Saints' Rest*, §. 6.

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Calamy, at the place above cited.

dition, or the testimony of the ancients, is the principal method of determining the canon; a more direct proof of which shall be the work of the following chapter.

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## CHAP. VII.

*That the best method, by which the canonical authority of any book or books can be established, is by the testimonies of those, who lived nearest to the times in which they were written.*

HAVING in the preceding chapter largely shewn, that neither, 1. The authority of the church; nor, 2. The innate evidences of the scripture, with the testimony of the Spirit, are the means by which we can establish the canon of scripture, I come now to shew,

III. *That the principal means, whereby we can know whether any books be canonical, is by tradition, or the well-approved testimonies of those, who lived in or near the time of their being first written.*

The question concerning the canon of the New Testament, is plainly a question concerning certain matters of fact, that were about 1700 years ago, viz. *Whether such and such books were written by the persons under whose names they go.* Whether they were inspired, or no, is not the business here to inquire; but, *Whether such persons wrote such and such books.* If then the question be about a plain fact, it is evident, the way to decide it must be by the testimony of some, who either themselves knew the certain truth of the fact, or else received it from others who did so. Thus, and thus only, we know, there was such a person as Julius Cæsar, who did such and such things; thus we know that Ovid, Virgil, or Livy, wrote the books under their names, &c. and thus we know, the disciples of Jesus Christ wrote the books which go under their names. And since (as has been above proved, Prop. II. Coroll. 2.) the witnesses to be produced, viz. the first Christians, are good and capable witnesses, or judges, of the fact; it is evident, the principal method of knowing which is a truly canonical book, is to search into the most ancient and authentic records of the Christian church, which was the thing to be proved. This was the method the first Christians constantly

made use of, to prove against the heretics the truth of the sacred books, viz. *by appealing to that certain and undoubted tradition, which assured them they were the writings of the persons whose names they bear.* Irenæus<sup>b</sup>, Tertullian<sup>c</sup>, Eusebius<sup>d</sup>, Cyril<sup>e</sup>, Austin<sup>f</sup>, and others, have frequently made use of this argument to very good purpose. But there is no need of producing authorities; the matter is clear. A fact must be proved by the testimony either of those who knew it, or of those who received it by good and credible tradition from them. I would have the contrary minded (as a noted writer well argues<sup>g</sup>) tell me “How they know, without human testimony “or tradition, that these are the same books, which the prophets and apostles wrote? and wholly the same? that they “are not depraved, and wilfully corrupted? that these are “all? How know you that one of the books of Esther is canonical, and the other apocryphal? Where is the man that “ever knew the canon from the apocrypha, before it was told “him?” &c. I might argue yet further, and ask, How, but by tradition, do most men believe the scriptures to be truly translated out of their originals? For, not understanding them themselves, they are liable to be imposed upon, and necessitated to credit the fidelity of those who do understand them. If they do not believe the testimony and faithfulness of the translators, it is impossible any internal evidence should convince them of the truth of the books translated. But to omit this, it is indeed very observable, that the same writers, who at some times have wrote warmly for the testimony of the Spirit, have at other times, forgetting this, given up the whole of the controversy, by allowing all to the church and tradition. Nothing less than this is certainly implied in that concession of Dr. Whitaker<sup>h</sup>, “That the church has power, or it belongs to “its office, to judge or determine, what are true, genuine, and “canonical books; and what are false, spurious, and apocryphal.” And I cannot but observe, that Calvin himself, though in the passages above cited, he says, “Men cannot by

<sup>b</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 1, 2.

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 5. Vid. Pamel. ad loc.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. et 25.

<sup>e</sup> Catech. IV. §. 33. et §. 36.

<sup>f</sup> Contr. Faust. Manich. l. 11. c. 2. et l. 22. c. 79. et l. 33. c. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Pref. to Saints' Rest, part 2. §. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Controvers. de Scriptur. I. Quæst. III. c. 2. juxt. fin.

“any arguments be brought to believe the scriptures;” yet, in the next chapter<sup>i</sup>, does himself make use of *many arguments taken from testimony and tradition* for this purpose; such as, *The providence of God in preserving them under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Septuagint translation, &c. for the Old Testament: the wonderful success of Christianity against all opposition, the mighty prevalence of its doctrines, the death of martyrs, &c.* all which are founded only upon history and tradition. Others who, unwilling to dispute the sufficiency of the argument from internal evidences, have attempted a sort of medium, or compounding the matter, by a strange sort of mixture of both. Thus Dr. Cosin<sup>k</sup>, allowing the force of internal testimonies to prove the scriptures, says, that “notwithstanding this, for the particular number of such “books, whether they be more or less, we have no better nor “other external testimony, or rule herein to guide us, than “the constant voice of the catholic church, as it hath been delivered to us upon record from one generation to another.” To me (though I freely own, and thank God, I am able to see an excellency in the scriptures far beyond all other books, and trust to feel more of the efficacy daily upon my own heart, by the Spirit of God) nothing seems more unreasonable than this sort of composition. It is in other words no more than this: The internal evidences of the scriptures convince us in general they are divine, but not in particular; they convince us all the books are, but not such and such particular ones; which, I think, is a direct contradiction. Placæus is somewhat more consistent with himself; though, I believe, his compounding notion will hardly be approved<sup>l</sup>; viz. “That the “truly canonical books have more or fewer, greater or smaller, “characters and evidences of their divinity, as they are more “or less necessary to the church; and on the contrary, apocryphal books, as they are more or less unfit for the canon, “have more or fewer, greater or less evidences of human composition: so that,” says he, “there may be some canonical “books, such, for instance, as the Book of Esther, which we “shall hardly be able to prove canonical; and some apocry-

<sup>i</sup> Instit. Christ. Relig. l. i. c. 8. §. 10.<sup>k</sup> Scholast. Hist. of the Canon, §. 8.<sup>l</sup> Dissert. de Canon. §. 24. inter Thess. Salmur.

“phal pieces, such as the Prayer of Manasses<sup>m</sup>, which we shall hardly be able to prove apocryphal, by any other arguments, than such as are drawn from the language in which they are written, and the constant testimony of the ancient church.” The plain meaning of which is, That some books prove themselves to be of divine original, others do not; the Spirit dictated some books, which evidence they are his, others which do not. Every one can see, how contrary this is to the reformers’ doctrine; and I am unwilling to make any other inference; only would hence observe, what absurdities the greatest men run into, who do not allow themselves a just freedom of thought.

Upon the whole, then, the substance of what I contend for is; The sacred books of the New Testament at their first writing, were published abroad in the world, and delivered to the first churches, in distant countries, for their use: they who first received them, knew them to be the books of the persons under whose names they were published, and could and did testify to the succeeding ages, what they thus knew of these facts. This testimony of the primitive churches is still faithfully preserved in the writings of the ancient Christians, and is therefore not only a good and sufficient, but the principal means, by which we know the truth of the fact, viz. that the books were written by such and such men. Beside this, the books themselves contain in themselves evidences of their excellency above all others; which should be the means to strengthen and confirm our faith: and for our further help, we are to hope for the influences of God’s holy Spirit, to clear our judgments, and free us from those prejudices, which we naturally have against divine things; to help us to see the former evidences in their due strength, and so to impress the things revealed on our minds, as to produce a suitable conduct and behaviour.

There is only one objection, as far as I can see, left, which deserves any consideration; and that is, If it is by tradition, and searching the records of the ancients, that we are to have satisfaction as to the truth of the scriptures, then *the greater part of Christians, who are not capable of doing this, must be without satisfaction.*

<sup>m</sup> It is extant among the apocrypha of the Old Testament.

To which I answer, That though the bulk of Christians cannot themselves have recourse to these original evidences; yet there are many, who have with a great deal of diligence and impartiality made it their business to do it, whose testimonies they have, and may safely depend upon, as they neither can nor would deceive in a matter of such importance. Nor does it follow from hence, that their faith is ill grounded, because it relies on the testimony of fallible men, and so is but a human faith; for this is no more than what equally follows from their not knowing the original languages, and so being in consequence obliged to depend upon the veracity and judgment of others, for the truth and goodness of it<sup>a</sup>.

If any, after all, oppose their own experience to what I above said; I desire them to consider, 1. That this can be no argument to prove the scriptures to another; and, 2. Whether the utmost he can infer from his experience with reason be not this, That he has felt the powerful influences of the Christian religion, revealed in the New Testament, upon his heart, without having ever been made to know, at any particular time, that such books and such passages were of divine original, or to distinguish what is genuine in them, from what is spurious<sup>o</sup>?

## CHAP. VIII.

*A large account of all the places in the Christian writers of the four first centuries, where catalogues are to be found of the books of the New Testament.*

## PROP. IV.

Those books, which are mentioned in the catalogues made by the most ancient Christian writers, of the sacred and inspired books, are to be esteemed canonical; and those which are not found in any of these catalogues, must be esteemed apocryphal.

**T**HIS proposition does necessarily depend upon, and follow from the foregoing one; for if the tradition or testimony of the most early writers of Christianity be, as was there proved,

<sup>a</sup> Saints' Rest, part 2. c. 4. §. 6.

<sup>o</sup> They are bishop Burnet's words on Art. VI. p. 79. He who would see more of the necessity and nature of

the tradition, that establishes the canon of the New Testament, may read Mr. Dodwell's Dissert. in Iren. 1. §. 35, 36, 37.



the method, by which we are to determine concerning the authority of any book, their evidence can never be more clear or material, than when they purposely give us lists or catalogues of those books, which are to be received as sacred and canonical. All these catalogues I have with much labour endeavoured to collect, and shall presently produce; premising only, that the omission of a book in some one or two particular catalogues, cannot with any reason be urged against its canonical authority, if it be found in all, or most of the others; and any good reasons can be assigned for the omission where it is. Thus, for instance, the Revelation is omitted, either because it was not perhaps known to the author, or its credit not sufficiently established in the country where he lived; or, which perhaps may be as probable as the other, because it being so full of mysteries, few or none were judged proper or able to read it to any purpose. This was certainly the case in England; this book being, for this reason, omitted in the public calendar for reading the scriptures, though it be received into the canon. If therefore these, or any such good reasons can be assigned for the omission of a book in a particular catalogue, (as, I hope, will appear in the particular examination of the books,) it will be very unfair to infer, from my proposition, that such book is apocryphal, especially when it is to be found in many, or most other catalogues. This premised, I shall now produce the catalogues themselves, not at length, which would be a needless transcribing the same things many times over; but only citing the several places in the authors where they are, and noting the least difference from our present canon, and withal adding the year of their writing.

*A LIST of all those places in the Christian writers of the four first centuries, in which are to be found catalogues of the books of the New Testament.*

N. B. In most of these places the reader may also see catalogues of the books of the Old Testament; and, for the benefit of those, who may desire to know which those places are, I have marked them thus \*.

The names of the writers,	The times in which they lived.	The variation or agreement of their catalogues with ours now received.	The places of their writings, in which these catalogues are.
I. * ORIGEN, a presbyter of Alexandria, who employed incredible pains in knowing the scriptures.	A. C. 210.	Omits the Epistles of James and Jude, though he owns them both in other parts of his writings.	<i>Comment. in Matth. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25. Exposit. in Joan. l. 5. apud Euseb. ibid.</i>
II. EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS, whose writings evidence his zeal about the sacred writings, and his great care to be informed, which were genuine, and which not.	315.	His catalogue is exactly the same with the modern one; only he says, the Epistles of James, Jude, the 2d of Peter, the 2d and 3d of John, though they were generally received, yet had been by some doubted of. As to the Revelation, though he says some rejected it, yet he says others received it; and himself places it among those, which are to be received without dispute.	<i>Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. confer ejusdem lib. c. 3.</i>
III. * ATHANASIUS, bishop of Alexandria.	315.	The same perfectly with ours now received.	<i>Fragment. Epist. Festal. et in Synops. Scriptur. Sacr.</i>
IV. * CYRIL, bishop of Jerusalem.	340.	The same with ours, only the Revelation is omitted.	<i>Catech. IV. §. 36.</i>

The names of the writers.	The times in which they lived.	The variation or agreement of their catalogues with ours now received.	The places of their writings, in which these catalogues are.
V. * The bishops assembled in the council of Laodicea.	A. C. 364. <sup>p</sup>	The Revelation is omitted.	<i>Canon. LX.</i> <i>N. B.</i> The canons of this council were not long afterwards received into the body of the canons of the universal church.
VI. EPIPHANIUS, bp. of Salamis in Cyprus.	370.	The same with ours now received.	<i>Hæres. 76. c. 5.</i>
VII. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, bishop of Constantinople.	375.	Omits the Revelation.	<i>Carm. de veris et genuin. Scriptur.</i>
VIII. PHILASTRIUS, bp. of Brixia in Venice.	380.	The same with ours now received; except that he mentions only thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles, (omitting, very probably, the Epistle to the Hebrews,) and leaves out the Revelation.	<i>Lib. de Hæres. 87.</i>
IX. * JEROME.	382.	The same with ours; except that he speaks dubiously of the Epistle to the Hebrews; though in other parts of his writings he receives it as canonical; as hereafter will appear.	<i>Ep. ad Paulin. de stud. Script.</i> Also commonly prefixed to the <i>Latin Vulgate.</i>
X. * RUFFIN, presbyter of Aquilegium.	390.	It perfectly agrees with ours.	<i>Expos. in Symb. Apostol. §. 36. int. Op. Hieron. et inter Op. Cypr.</i>
XI. * AUSTIN, bp. of Hippo in Africa.	394.	It perfectly agrees with ours.	<i>De Doct. Christ. l. 2. c. 8.</i>

<sup>p</sup> The papists generally place this council before the council of Nice.

The names of the writers.	The times in which they lived.	The variation or agreement of their catalogues with ours now received.	The places of their writings, in which these catalogues are.
XII. * The <small>XLIV.</small> bps. assembled in the third council of Carthage.	A. C. St. Austin was present at it.	It perfectly agrees with ours.	<i>Vid. Canon. XLVII. et cap. ult.</i>
XIII. The anonymous author of the works under the name of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.	390.	It seems perfectly to agree with ours: for though he doth not, for good reasons, produce the names of the books; yet (as the learned Daillé says, <i>De Script. supposit. Dionys.</i> l. i. c. 16.) he so clearly describes them, as that he has left out no divine book, may be easily perceived.	<i>Lib. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 3.</i>

These are the principal catalogues of the books of the New Testament, that are to be found before the fifth century. Some perhaps have escaped my knowledge; and some, pretending to this age, I have purposely omitted: as that in the Constitutions under the apostles' names, and that in the 85th canon, under the said name<sup>q</sup>; taking it here for granted, that they are not only spurious, but of uncertain original; and that attributed by Pappus, in his Synodicon, to the council of Nice<sup>r</sup>, with this relation, That the bishops there assembled were, by a very extraordinary miracle, convinced which were inspired, and which were apocryphal books, after this manner: *Having put all the books, that laid claim to inspiration, under the communion-table in a church, they prayed to God, that those which were of divine inspiration might be found above, or upon, the*

<sup>q</sup> Constit. Apost. c. 57.

<sup>r</sup> 'Εν γὰρ τῇ ἐκκλ. τοῦ Θεοῦ κάτω παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ αὐτὰς παραδεδωκέναι προσ-  
νύχαστο, ὡς εὐρεῖσθαι τὰς θεοπνεύστους ἐν-  
ώ, τὸν Κύριον ἔχαιτθεσμένην, καὶ τὰς κη-  
βήλους, ὅ καὶ γίγονεν, ὑποκατάθεν. Syn.  
34.

*table, those which were apocryphal might be found under; and accordingly, as they prayed, it came to pass. Such accounts are not only very false and fabulous, but plainly ridiculous and incredible.*

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## CHAP. IX.

*How we are to judge of the canonical authority of any book, by its being cited by any Christian writers.*

### PROP. V.

Those books are justly esteemed canonical, which the first writers of Christianity have cited in their writings as scripture; and those apocryphal, which they have not.

THE truth of each part of the proposition necessarily follows from Prop. III. For if we are to receive what they received as canonical, we are infallibly sure of this, by observing *what books they cited as scripture in their works, and what they did not*. An universal agreement of writers in the most remote countries, in quoting the same books as scripture, and no other as such, is, if the fact be true, a very plain and demonstrative indication of the true canon. It is not at all necessary I should here go about to prove the fact, viz. that the writers of the first four centuries have cited such and such books, and universally omitted others; this I hope to make good hereafter. All that I contend for now is, that if they have done so, it is a proof to us, that the books cited are canonical, and the books not cited are apocryphal; and that will appear thus: Their universal agreement to cite some books, and omit others, must necessarily proceed from one of these two causes, viz. either,

1. *Because they had not yet seen or known any other books claiming divine authority, besides those which they did cite; or,*
2. *Because if they did know them, they did not esteem them of equal authority with those which they did cite.*

Besides these, I cannot conceive any other reason assignable. Now if the last be assigned, the matter is given up, and the proposition at once established; for what the ancients looked upon as canonical and apocryphal, we are (by Prop. III.) to judge so too. If the first be said, viz. *That these books are cited, and no other, because these had the good fortune to be*

known, and the others had not; this will be no less giving up the cause; for their not being known, is to us (by Prop. III.) the same as not being canonical; inasmuch as this their obscurity proceeded from their wanting that public testimony of their being wrote by the apostles, which the other books had given them by the churches. The proposition therefore holds good; and I cannot but think it worth observing, that Eusebius (to whom, above all besides, we are indebted for our helps to establish the canon) makes frequent use of the very same proposition, to distinguish between those books which are, or are not to be received. So, for instance, he proves the first Epistle of Peter to be genuine, "because the most ancient writers of Christianity before his time made continual use of it in their writings, as an undoubted book;" and a little afterwards<sup>t</sup>, proves the Acts of Peter, the Gospel, the Preaching, and the Revelation of Peter, to be apocryphal, "because none of the writers of the Christian church have in their writings taken any testimonies out of these books." And elsewhere<sup>u</sup>, having mentioned several spurious books under the apostles' names, such as the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, the Acts of Andrew and John, and others, he rejects them, because "no ecclesiastical writer hath made any use of them in his writings."

This argument does so directly prove and establish our present canon, that those who attempt to weaken the canon, have always made it their main work to shew, that "the first writers were wont indifferently or promiscuously to quote the scriptures we now receive, and others, in their works." So Mr. Dodwell in the famous passage above cited<sup>x</sup>; and Mr. Toland in his Amyntor has done little else but paraphrased upon this thought, which he borrowed from Mr. Dodwell. I am sorry to say, that several learned men have too unguardedly dropped expressions of the like nature; as has been observed in the beginning of the Dissertation prefixed to this volume. In answer

<sup>t</sup> Οἱ πάλαι πρισβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλίκτω  
ἐν ταῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν καταλίχρησθαι συγ-  
γράμμασι. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Ὅτι μήτι ἀρχαίων, μήτι τῶν καθ'  
ἡμῶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς, ταῖς  
ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις. Ibid.

<sup>x</sup> Ὡς οὐδὲν εὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι  
τῶν κατὰ διδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις  
ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς μὴ μὴν ἀγαγῶν ἤξισιν. Ibid.  
l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>x</sup> Dissert. 1. in Iren. §. 38, 39.

to this opinion of Mr. Dodwell and Mr. Toland, several things have been well urged by Mr. Nyey, and after him by Mr. Richardson<sup>z</sup>: but it appears to me impossible to give a due answer to it any other way, than by a particular survey of all the places in the fathers, where they are supposed to have quoted any other books as scripture, beside those now received; which is proposed as the work of the second part of this volume. In the mean time, for the better explaining and establishing my proposition, I must observe three or four things.

1. *That the proposition does not mean a bare citing of a book, but citing it as scripture.* St. Paul has cited Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides; the first Christian writers have cited a thousand heathen authors, which, I hope, no one would have made part of the canon.

2. *That the proposition does not determine the authority of any book or books, upon the credit of any one or two particular writers, but the whole body of the writers of the primitive church:* and therefore if one or two particular persons should appear to be imposed upon, either in rejecting or receiving any book, we are not from their single testimony to argue against the book; especially,

3. *If it appear from other parts of their writings, by the most undoubted evidence, that they did not receive the book they seem to receive, or reject the book they seem to reject, in this particular place.*

## CHAP. X.

*Concerning the reading of the sacred books in the primitive churches, as a proof of their canonical authority.*

### PROP. VI.

Those books are canonical, which the primitive Christians read in their churches, or public assemblies, as the scriptures, or word of God.

THE evidence of this proposition is the same as of the two foregoing, from Prop. III. As it was the constant practice of the Jewish church in their synagogues, so it was of the Chris-

<sup>y</sup> Defence of the Canon, p. 57, &c.

<sup>z</sup> Canon Vindicated, p. 23, &c. and 73, &c.

tians in their religious meetings, to read the sacred scriptures. This practice is clearly proved from Col. iv. 16. where St. Paul mentions the reading publicly in the church of the Colossians and Laodiceans, his Epistle to the former, as also an Epistle from the latter in the church of the former. This we find in the beginning of the second century, from Justin Martyr<sup>a</sup>. "On the day," says he, "which is called Sunday, there is a "meeting of all [the Christians] who live either in cities or "country places, and the memoirs of the apostles, and writings of the prophets are read." So Tertullian, giving an account of the Christians' meetings, says<sup>b</sup>, "They assembled "to read the scriptures, and to offer up prayers." And in another place<sup>c</sup>, "among the solemn exercises of the Lord's "day, he reckons reading the scriptures, singing psalms," &c. The same account we have in Cyprian<sup>d</sup>, the ancient book under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite<sup>e</sup>, and several other ancient writers, cited by Pamelius in his learned notes on Tertullian's Apology<sup>f</sup>. Now, I say, these books are to be received by us as canonical, forasmuch as this practice of reading the scriptures was so very early, that it is hardly possible to suppose the churches imposed upon by any spurious or forged pieces. Hence Cyril of Jerusalem, instructing his catechumen concerning the scriptures, tells him<sup>g</sup>, "to avoid apocryphal "books, and study carefully those scriptures only, which were "publicly read in the church;" and a little after, having given him a catalogue of the sacred books, he adds, "let all "others be rejected; and such as are not read in the churches, "neither do you read in private." Hence, in the middle of the fourth century, it was decreed by the council of Laodicea, in their fifty-ninth canon, that "no private psalms should be

<sup>a</sup> Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λογομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μινόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν, ἀναγινώσκονται. Apol. 2. p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> Cogimur ad divinarum literarum commemorationem. Apol. adv. gent. c. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Inter Dominica solennia—Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut allocutiones proferuntur, aut peti-

tiones delegantur. De Anima, c. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Cypr. Epist. 38, 39.

<sup>e</sup> Hierarch. Eccles. c. 3. juxt. init.

<sup>f</sup> Scil. in Apolog. c. 39.

<sup>g</sup> Πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀπίστευφα μὴδὲν ἔχει ποιόν ταύτας μόνας μιλίτα σπουδαίως, ἀς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παύσεως ἀναγινώσκωμεν——τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω τίσω ἐν διουσίᾳ, καὶ ἴσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκονται, ταῦτα μὴδὲ κατὰ οὐκ ἀναγινώσκωσι. Catech. IV. §. 35, 36.



“read in the church, nor any books without the canon, but “only the canonical ones of the Old and New Testament.”

But notwithstanding this and the subsequent decree of the third council of Carthage, Canon XLVII. it is certain some other pieces were read in the churches, both as of the Old and New Testament, beside those which we now receive, long before they were made, as well as about that time. Thus, for instance, among the books of the New, Dionysius, a bishop of Corinth in the second century, in a letter to the church of Rome<sup>h</sup>, tells them, “they read on the Lord’s day Clement’s “Epistle to them in their assemblies;” and Eusebius<sup>i</sup> declares it to have been “universally received, and read in most “churches,” both in his and former times. The same he says of the Shepherd of Hermas<sup>k</sup>, that “it was read in many “churches;” which is confirmed by Athanasius<sup>l</sup> and Ruffinus<sup>m</sup> both concerning this and some other books.

Besides, the book of the Revelation was not read in the churches, according to Cyril; nor commanded to be read by the council of Laodicea: and so it may be objected, that if the proposition we are discussing be true, as the former books which were read (such as Clemens, Hermas, &c.) should be received by us into the canon, as they are by Mr. Whiston; so the Revelation should be left out. But, as was said on a like account, (Prop. ult.) the full answer to this cannot be till the books are particularly examined; nevertheless, I would observe,

First, *That the proposition speaks only of books that were read in churches as scripture; and that there is a vast difference between being read in a church, and being of divine inspiration.* For it is certain, there were many books read, which were not looked upon as infallible and canonical scripture, but only as pious and useful books, which might be of service to the common people. These books, in contradistinction to the other, they were wont to call ecclesiastical. “There are other books,” says Ruffin<sup>n</sup>, “which are not called “by our ancestors canonical, but ecclesiastical,” among which

<sup>h</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Id. l. 4. c. 23.

<sup>k</sup> Id. l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Epist. Paschal.

<sup>m</sup> Exposit. in Symbol. Apost. §. 36.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

he reckons the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, (which on this very account had its title of Ecclesiasticus,) Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Judgment of Peter. Accordingly Jerome<sup>o</sup>, speaking of the books of Tobit, Judith, &c. "The church reads them," says he, "but does not receive them as canonical scripture—it reads them for the edification of the common people, not as having any authority to determine articles of faith." Just of the same value were these books among the ancients, as the apocrypha of the Old Testament in the church of England, and the Homilies appointed to be read in the churches are now; and therefore the bare reading them in the primitive assemblies, cannot be in itself a proof of their canonical authority, unless they were read as scripture.

From this observation we may, I think, give a very easy and natural account, how it came to pass, that any books were of dubious authority among the ancients; viz. being first read in the public assemblies at the same time as the sacred scriptures, but only as pious and useful books; those who in after-ages were ignorant of this reason, began to question whether they were not of the same authority with the sacred books themselves; and so from hence arose that noted distinction in Eusebius<sup>p</sup>, of those which were,

1. *Ὁμολογούμενοι*, i. e. such as were universally received without any controversy.

2. *Ἀντιλεγόμενοι*, i. e. such whose authority was doubted of by some.

3. *Νόθοι*, i. e. such which were rejected by all but heretics.

The same distinction we find in Cyril<sup>q</sup>, into those which were,

1. *Παρά πᾶσιν Ὁμολογούμενα*, i. e. such as all owned. And,

2. *Τὰ Ἀμφιβαλλόμενα*, i. e. such as were doubted of.

In like manner St. Austin<sup>r</sup> speaks of those, which were received by all catholic churches, and those which were rejected by some few churches; he must needs mean of heretics, because they are opposed to the catholics. I own, indeed, the instances Eusebius produces of his second sort, were not doubted

<sup>o</sup> Præfat. in Libr. Solom.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. et 25.

<sup>q</sup> Catech. IV. §. 33.

<sup>r</sup> De Doct. Christ. l. 2. c. 8.

of by the reason now assigned; but whatever doubtful books the others meant, may be well included in our account, seeing they speak not of any of the books of the present canon being doubted of, as he does.

Secondly, I observe, that though Eusebius and Ruffin mention some books as read in the churches, yet *themselves do expressly exclude them from the canon*; as Eusebius does the Shepherd of Hermas, placing it among the spurious books<sup>s</sup>; and Ruffin in so many words tells us, "it was not reputed *" canonical."*"

As to the Revelation being omitted in Cyril's catalogue, and in the eighty-fifth canon of the council of Laodicea, as not being read in the churches; I shall refer the reader to the reasons above assigned for its being left out of some catalogues, and to the particular inquiry into this book hereafter.

## CHAP. XI.

*Several propositions, whereby we may distinguish the spuriousness of many books.*

### PROP. VII.

That book is certainly apocryphal, in which are found any contradictions.

**THE** truth of this is evident: for as both sides of a contradictory proposition cannot be true, such book must necessarily contain somewhat that is false, and consequently cannot have God for its author, nor be to us a rule of doctrine and manners.

### PROP. VIII.

That book is apocryphal, which either contains any histories, or proposes any doctrines, contrary to those which are certainly known to be true.

**THIS** is evident for the same reason as the former; to impute such a book to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, being, in other words, to make God the author of a lie, and to take him for our guide in matters of the last consequence, whom we know to be not only fallible, but actually deceived.

<sup>s</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Exposit. in Symbol. Apostol. §. 36.

Coroll. That therefore is an apocryphal book, which contains any thing contrary to the known facts, or universally agreed doctrines of the Christian religion. I hope it will not be thought a defect in strict reasoning, that I take it for granted, that the substance of Christianity is true; for this cannot be denied by any who will believe any matter of fact, of which they have not themselves been eyewitnesses. But if any will dispute this, and say, I take for granted what I ought not, having not proved it; I refer them to what is said, Coroll. 2. Prop. II. where, I think, as much is proved, at least is fairly implied, as I here take for granted.

I purposely omit here all instances, reserving them for their proper places; only would observe, that Eusebius <sup>u</sup> makes use of the same proposition to disprove the canonical authority of many books, that went under the apostles' names. "The sentiments," says he, "and doctrines, which are delivered in those books, are so very different from, or contrary to, the true and orthodox doctrine of the church, as evidently demonstrate them to be the forgeries of heretics, and therefore not only to be ranked among spurious pieces, but to be utterly rejected as absurd and impious." Thus also Serapio, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and many others, reject the particular apocryphal pieces they have occasion in their writings to mention; and thus, by the way, *we may prove all, or most of those books, which are called the apocrypha of the Old Testament, to be really such.*

#### PROP. IX.

That book is apocryphal, in which are contained things ludicrous or trifling; fabulous or silly relations.

THIS will admit no dispute among those, who believe God to be a Being of infinite wisdom and knowledge. For him to give us such books, would argue him guilty either of weakness and folly, or of imposing upon his creatures a necessity of believing things contrary to their most improved reason.

Besides that it cannot be supposed, that even men of honesty

<sup>u</sup> "Ἡ τι γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερόμενων προαίρεσις, πλείστον ἴσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐκδοξίας ἀπαδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς

παρίστανειν ὅτιν οὐδ' ἐν νόμοις αὐτὰ κατατακτικόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ σαραιστηρίον. Hist. Eccl. 1. 3. c. 25.

and wisdom would be the authors of such sort of books: for either themselves believed what they wrote, or they did not; if they did not, they are notorious impostors, and consequently not fit to be infallible guides in matters of such consequence as our everlasting states; if they did, they were evidently persons of such shallow capacities, and foolish credulity, as to deserve rather to be pitied, than made our directors in the most important concerns of this and the next life. Whichever way therefore we take it, their writings must be apocryphal. This observation is not only evidently true, but of the greatest necessity in the business we are now about; for it is certain, that a very great number of the apocryphal books of the New Testament are filled with the most idle and trifling stories, the most ridiculous and extravagant fooleries imaginable. The romantic accounts of the Virgin Mary's nativity, *being bred by angels, and fed by them in her infancy, &c.* the childish relations of our Saviour's infancy and education, *his learning the alphabet, his stature, appearing sometimes as a child, sometimes as a man, sometimes so tall that his head would reach the clouds, the length of his hair, beard, &c.* the Spirit's taking him up to Mount Thabor, *by one of his hairs, &c.* the silly miracles attributed to the apostles, with all the ridiculous circumstances that attended their several martyrdoms, &c. are each, with all other stories like them, unquestionable arguments to prove the books which contain them apocryphal; and to be no other, than either the works of the weakest of men, who were fondly credulous of every report, and had not discretion enough to distinguish between sense and nonsense, between that which was credible, and that which was not so; or else the artful contrivance of some, who were more zealous than honest, who thought by these strange stories to gain credit to their new religion.

## PROP. X.

That book is apocryphal, in which there are any sort of things mentioned, which were later than the time in which the author, whose name it bears, lived.

I NEED spend no time in the proof of this proposition; it being impossible for any person to relate histories, or treat

concerning customs, which were not till long after his time; unless we suppose them either endued with a very extraordinary spirit of prophecy, that they could foreknow all the things, persons, and customs, that would arise in the world after their death; or else, that they wrote their books from the other world, and conveyed them by angels to this world, which, I confess, some have supposed to be fact, as to the letters sent by Elijah, after he was dead, to Jehoram; mentioned 2 Chron. xxi. 12. And particularly the learned Jesuit Estius supposes not only the matter to be thus, but demonstrates from hence the care the saints have of our affairs, after they are removed from us to the other world<sup>x</sup>. But I hope I need not guard against such absurdities; and therefore shall take no more pains to prove the proposition, but only elucidate it in a few instances; in which I shall not confine myself to the apocryphal pieces of the New Testament, but make use of any other that occur.

1. Some books mention facts, that happened a long while after the pretended author's death. Thus, for instance<sup>y</sup>, the Constitutions of the Apostles do the controversy about the re-baptization of heretics, which arose not till the third century.

2. Some mention persons, that did not live till a long time after the pretended author's death. So the book under the name of Hegesippus, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, mentions Constantine and Constantinople; whereas this could not be before the fourth century, and Hegesippus lived in the second. And the Questions and Answers under Justin Martyr's name mention Irenæus and Origen<sup>z</sup>, who both lived after his time.

3. Rites and ceremonies about baptism, penance, fasting, celibacy, exorcism, &c. are in the pretended Constitutions of the Apostles; which, it is certain, were not known in their time, nor till long afterwards.

4. Other books are full of words and phrases, not known till long after their supposed author's days. Thus the words *clergy*, *laity*, *readers*, *subdeacons*, &c. in the Canons of the Apostles, and other pieces called apostolical. With the new

<sup>x</sup> Annot. in loc. difficil. Script. in 2 Chron. xxi. 12.

<sup>y</sup> Lib. 6. c. 15.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Quæst. 82, 86. et 115.

opinions and controversies of later ages, it was impossible but many new words should be coined, which becoming very common, often betray the spuriousness or forgery of a book.

## CHAP. XII.

*The style of a book a proper method to judge of it: a catalogue of the various sorts of styles.*

## PROP. XI.

That book is spurious and apocryphal, the style of which is different from, or contrary to, the style of the author whose name it bears, in those which are his known and undoubted writings.

BY this proposition the critics have made very considerable discoveries in later ages, not only among ecclesiastical, but profane authors; not only detecting the interpolations of the monks, but in fixing true and genuine titles to those pieces, which before went under false and feigned names. Thus Erasmus<sup>a</sup>, Bellarmine<sup>b</sup>, Sixtus Senensis<sup>c</sup>, our learned countryman Cook<sup>d</sup>, Rivet<sup>e</sup>, Dr. Cave<sup>f</sup>, and others, have happily contributed their parts in delivering us from reading books under borrowed titles; yea, and long before their time, the ancient writers of Christianity were successful in discovering forgeries by the same method. Eusebius's works will supply us with many instances to this purpose.

He who has an intent to deceive, and publish a piece of his own for another's, may easily counterfeit his name, age, country, opinions; but will find it almost impossible with any exactness to imitate another's style. For as every man has his peculiar air in moving, speaking, &c. as every man has a peculiar turn of eye, cast of countenance and complexion, and many other things by which he is distinguishable from all others; so has every man a peculiar way of thinking and expressing his thoughts, as different from all others as in any of the other instances. And though it may be said, a man writes in a very

<sup>a</sup> In many of his editions of the fathers.

<sup>b</sup> De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.

<sup>c</sup> Bibliotheca Sancta.

<sup>d</sup> Censura quorundam scriptorum.

<sup>e</sup> Critici Sacri specimen.

<sup>f</sup> Historia Literaria.

different style at different times, according to the different subjects he has to manage, his different age, his larger attainments by study, the different tempers in which the mind is at the times of writing, &c. yet still there will be more or less of the old natural peculiarity visibly remaining, by which he will appear to be the same, and not another who writes. Just as a man, though he change his country, become advanced in years, sometimes smiles, sometimes frowns, still has the same countenance, the same smile or frown, which will distinguish him from all the rest of mankind. "Jerome," says Sixtus<sup>c</sup>, "writes one way in his Epistles, another way in his Controversies with Ruffin, another way in his Commentaries; one way when he was young, and his mind warm with the exercises of rhetoric; another way when he was old, writing on more serious subjects: yet he always writes so, that you may know him to be the same Jerome still, as a man knows his friend under all the various casts and turns of his countenance." So likewise in every writer there will always be a peculiar way of setting his thoughts together, contexture of the discourse, method of handling his subject, and something distinguishing, which I can no more describe, than that in a man's face, which makes him different from all the world. The mildness or hastiness of his temper, the seriousness or levity, the dulness or briskness, the length or shortness, or some marks or other will still appear. This St. Austin elegantly expresses of one of Cyprian's Epistles, which he proved genuine by its style thus, "His style has a certain peculiar face, by which it may be known<sup>h</sup>."

After all, I confess, a person may be easily deceived in this matter; and therefore there is need of the greatest care, and long and intimate acquaintance with the authors, of whom we thus judge: it being certain, that the style will still be more easily discerned by us, in proportion as we have read the book. I have therefore, for the reader's assistance (if it will be any to him) collected, according to the best of my capacity, the various styles that I have observed in reading, and placed them in the following catalogue. He who would study the

<sup>c</sup> Biblioth. sanct. l. 4. in fine.

<sup>h</sup> Stylus ejus habet quandam pro-

priam faciem, qua possit agnosci.  
Epist. ad Vincent. §. 39.



point further, may read to good purpose what Tully and Quintilian have wrote on this subject.

*A Catalogue of the various Styles of authors.*

1. THE *plain* or *simple style*; i. e. such as is levelled to the capacity of most men, having the thoughts ranged in such order, and expressed in such words, as that most men will with ease understand them. It may be called the *easy* or *clear style*, and is very remarkable in the historical books of the Old and New Testament.

2. The *affected*, or *rhetorical style*, opposite to the former, viz. That which is laboured and abounds with words of uncommon use, and placed differently from the common way of speech; what the Latins call *Oratio luxurians, voces sonoræ, pompa et lepor verborum*. This, St. Paul says, he avoided, 1 Cor. ii. 1, 4. calling it *excellency of speech, and enticing words of man's wisdom*.

3. The *perplexed* and *involved style*, having the thoughts placed in so uncommon an order, that it will require considerable pains to connect them; different from the former, in that it may be in very common and intelligible words, and also natural without affectation. This was the style of Tacitus and Tertullian among the ancients, and Mr. Selden among the moderns.

4. The *rustic*, or *homely style*, i. e. such as is below the common standard of the country, or what we call in Latin *barbarous*. This more respects the words than the thoughts, and is the style of the Latin Vulgate Bible, and many of the Latin translations of the Greek fathers.

5. The *strong* or *nervous style*, i. e. such in which there are the most just reasonings expressed in the most cogent words, or such words as powerfully and fully convey all the ideas the author had. Such was certainly the style of St. Paul and Justin Martyr among the ancients, and archbishop Tillotson and Mr. Locke among the moderns.

6. The *languid*, or *weak style*, the opposite of the former, which does but faintly or in part convey the ideas of the author, or whose reasonings are scarce conclusive. I need not produce instances of this sort.

7. The *sublime style*, i. e. such as leads the reader into un-

common speculations about divine things. This may fully coincide with the *simple*, as to the expression, but must in some measure differ from it as to the thoughts, being uncommon, and such as will require pains to take in; such is the style of Isaiah's Prophecy, in respect of the book of Esther or Ruth.

8. The *mystical* or *typical style*, i. e. such as makes use of former events to prove any point. This was the style much in use among the Jews in our Saviour's time, and was a style much affected and reputed by their learned men, and accordingly taught in their schools. Hence they had their doctors, whom they called *דרשים* and *בעלי דורש*, whose business it was to find out mystical and allegorical senses of scripture; and their *בתי מדרש*, i. e. the schools where this sort of learning was taught<sup>i</sup>. Hence perhaps we may account for there being so much of this style in St. Paul's writings, he having had his education in the Jewish academy at Jerusalem. This style is principally visible in his Epistle to the Hebrews, and the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians; and it is remarkable, that those two Epistles, above the rest which he wrote, concerned the Jewish converts. This style is also very much used in the Talmud, in Irenæus, Tertullian, and most of the first Christian writers, especially Origen. I wish those who are so fond of this style, were able to give as good reason for their using it, as St. Paul could.

9. The *parabolical style*, i. e. such as abounds with parables and similitudes, as our Saviour's discourses in the Gospels.

10. The *theatrical style*, i. e. such in which there are frequent interlocutions, or dialogues. Of this there are many examples in St. Paul's writings, and more common and evident ones in Solomon's, especially in his Ecclesiastes. Under this may be included the style in which there are many *prosopopœiæ*; i. e. when inanimate things are introduced in the discourse, and addressed to as persons: this is frequent in Moses<sup>k</sup>, David<sup>l</sup>, and the Prophets<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Fuller. Miscell. Sacr. l. 3. c. 7. Scal. Elench. Trihær. c. 11. Camero in Myrothec. ad 1 Cor. i. 20. Those authors, in the places cited, think St. Paul meant these doctors by

the word *σοφισταί*, 1 Cor. i. 20.

<sup>k</sup> See Dent. iv. 26. xxx. 19. xxxii. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Psalm xix. 1. lxxv. 13. lxxvii. 16. xcvi. 11, 12. xcvi. 8. cxiv. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Isai. i. 2.

11. The *humorous style*, i. e. such as abounds either with what they call wit, or what is an affectation of it, though quite different from it, viz. puns and jingles of words. Many of our practical writers of divinity in the last age dealt much in the latter of these, as too many of our best writers on the same subject have of late in the former: both of these may justly be said, *ludere cum sacris*.

12. The *interrogatory style*, i. e. such in which are frequent addresses in the second person; of which there are some examples in St. Paul's Epistles<sup>n</sup>, and many in our warm writers of practical divinity.

13. The style in which are *many repetitions*: this is very remarkable in St. John<sup>o</sup>.

14. The style in which are *many proverbs* or *apophthegms* recited. Those who are acquainted with the Jewish books, will know there is much more of this in our Saviour's style, than is commonly imagined<sup>p</sup>.

15. The style which *abounds with parentheses*, i. e. breaks off the sentence with the interjection of other things, that do not properly belong to the argument, for its further illustration: this is very common in St. Paul<sup>q</sup>, and among later writers in Mr. Selden and Dr. Owen.

15. The *concise* or *sententious style*; such as Solomon's Proverbs.

16. The *prolix style*, which is too common to need the producing any instances. Under this I include, not only length of periods, but multiplying of words.

17. The *connected, or coherent style, which regards the sense*, and is commonly the style of mathematicians, and all good reasoners: i. e. such in which a sentence depends upon the former, as the links of a chain, and in which nothing can be left out without spoiling the whole argument.

18. The *connected, or coherent style, which respects the words*, and indeed in some sense (though very different from the former) *the thoughts*; i. e. such in which the last thought of the preceding sentence gives occasion to the thoughts of the

<sup>n</sup> See Rom. viii. 31, &c. 1 Cor. ix.

<sup>o</sup> John viii. 21, 24. 1 John i. 8, 10. ii. 9, 10, 11. and v. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>p</sup> See Grotius and Hammond's An-

notations, and Mr. Le Clerc's Paraphrase on the Gospels.

<sup>q</sup> Eph. ii. 1—6.

ensuing sentence, and so the last word of the preceding period is the first of the next, and so on. This style can seldom be used in arguing; it is very evident in the first Epistle of St. Peter, and the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.

19. The *loose* or *rambling style* is too well known. Lest it should be thought, that this and the seventeenth coincide with the fifth and sixth, viz. the *nervous* and the *languid*; I observe, that every coherent style is not nervous, nor every languid style incoherent.

20. The *efficacious* or *powerful style*, peculiar to the scriptures; i. e. the inward efficacy and power which is in them to reach and impress the consciences of stupid sinners. By this I mean somewhat different from any yet mentioned, and no other than what these books claim for themselves, and are experienced to have, by those who have felt the power of religion on their hearts. And though I own this style is not of itself visible till the Spirit and grace of God make it so, and consequently cannot (according to my proposition) be made use of to determine certainly concerning any author, as the others may, yet I mention it for the sake of those who allow,

1. That they have a greater aptness and tendency to impress men's minds, according to their intention, than any other books have.

2. That as David says<sup>r</sup>, *The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul, &c.* or, as Paul expresses it<sup>s</sup>, *That the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.*

<sup>r</sup> Psalm xix. 7, 8.

<sup>s</sup> Heb. iv. 12.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Several propositions whereby the spuriousness of a book may be discovered.*

## PROP. XII.

That book is spurious and apocryphal, whose idiom and dialect is different from the known idiom or dialect of the author whose name it bears, or the country where he lived.

THE idiom or dialect of a language is somewhat very different from the style of a writer, inasmuch as all languages are susceptible of all sorts of styles; the idiom of a language being what is common to a whole country, and differing from others only by some accidents; but the style of a writer is somewhat that is peculiar to himself, arising only from the vast and inexpressible variety of nature and constitution. Thus this proposition differs from the foregoing, but is proved by the same sort of medium, viz. that as each particular person has one style, which another cannot imitate; so each country, or the language of each country, has its own idiom or peculiarities, which those of another country can scarcely imitate to that perfection, but that the difference will be discernible. I confess indeed it seems to me a more easy matter to imitate a dialect, than a style; yet notwithstanding this, the critics in languages know well, there is something in the genius of them, which is inimitable by those of other countries; some words, some phrases, or disposition of words, which are never perfectly learnt. Besides, as a writer cannot fully imitate the phraseology of another country, so neither can he avoid the peculiarities of his own, though he be supposed to write in another language: these are what he has from his infancy been habituated and accustomed to, and become almost as natural to him as his own air and style. Hence Peter was discovered to be a Galilean at Jerusalem, (Matt. xxvi. 73.) though the language of the Jews and Galileans was very little different: just as an inhabitant of the southern parts of England would immediately discover one of its northern inhabitants, not by his words and tone only, but his dialect. Hence it seems not difficult, for instance, to distinguish between the Latin wrote by an Englishman, and that wrote by a Roman in Augustus's

time. And it would, I believe, be impossible for a person now in any nation, to impose a book of his own writing under the name of any Roman writer, without being immediately detected. So certain it is, that each nation has its peculiar idiom and dialect; which may be yet further confirmed by the known remark made by all who are acquainted with languages, viz. *that it is exceeding hard to do justice to an author, when he is translated into another language*; the translator finding himself perpetually at a loss either for words or phrases, or both, fully and exactly to express the author's ideas.

The rule therefore laid down, must be of great service to us, in detecting the spuriousness or forgery of a book, the imposture commonly shewing itself either in some words or phrases not known in the country, where the pretended author lived, but peculiar to another; or else in an unnatural resemblance and affectation of a dialect he was not sufficiently acquainted with. Instances of this we may perhaps meet with hereafter; yet I cannot but add one remark here concerning the dialect of most of the writings of the New Testament, because it will be a very demonstrative evidence of the mighty power and force there is in the genius or nature of a language to shew itself: the remark I mean is *concerning the Hebraisms of the New Testament*. It is agreed on all hands, that most of those books were originally written in Greek; but no one can be ignorant, how different the Greek is from that which was commonly spoke and wrote in the world at that time; so different in its idiom and phraseology, that it must needs have puzzled the most celebrated linguists of Athens to have construed the phrases, if they had understood all the words. The truth is, the books were written by men who were born in Judæa, who had conversed in the Jewish, i. e. the Syriac, language from their childhood, and so had the idioms and peculiarities of it become perfectly natural to them; and hence, though they made use of Greek words, they conceiving after their former manner, placed their words after their wonted manner; i. e. in the Hebrew or Syriac dialect. Such is the language of most of the New Testament, of which, if it were necessary, it were easy to produce a hundred instances; which plainly shews how great the force of a person's natural lan-

guage is, and how difficult it is to conceal it, even when he makes use of the words of another. And I dare venture to say, that the idioms of Latin or Greek would be as likely to shew themselves, as those of Hebrew; or that any Gentile writers would find it as difficult to avoid the idioms of their own country language, and imitate those of Palestine, as the Jews did to avoid theirs, and imitate those of other countries. I conclude therefore, that the idiom of the language of any book is a very likely means to judge of its genuineness; and if it be proved contrary to the known idiom of the people among whom its pretended author lived, that it is to be looked upon for that reason as spurious and apocryphal.

### PROP. XIII.

That book is spurious and apocryphal, which evidences a disposition or temper of mind in its author, different from the known temper and disposition of the author whose name it bears.

THE truth of this proposition depends upon these two known observations, viz. That there is a great variety in the tempers of men's minds, and that it is next to impossible for a person so to conceal and disguise himself, but that his natural temper will be more or less visible: the pride or humility, the warmth or coolness, the dulness or briskness, the courage or cowardice of the soul, and many other such, are qualities so natural to it, so predominant in it, that a man may as easily alter the cast of his complexion, or shape of his body, as so alter them that they shall become indiscernible. David could not write, but he evidenced his humility: nor Cicero, but he evidenced his pride. St. Paul could not write without shewing the passionate vigour and warmth of his natural temper; nor St. John without shewing the sedateness and mildness of his. I need not produce instances in a case so evident; I only would observe, that of all the tempers of the mind, none are more predominant, and more likely to shew themselves in writing, than the proud or modest, the passionate and warm, or the cold and dull.

## PROP. XIV.

That book is apocryphal, which for the most part is transcribed or stolen out of another.

NOTHING can be more evident than this. Every book, which is supposed canonical, is at the same time supposed inspired, or to be wrote under the conduct and influences of the divine Spirit; but to be a plagiarist, and under the conduct of inspiration, is manifestly inconsistent. To suppose the Holy Spirit to assist one person in first writing, and then another person in transcribing or stealing out of that writing, is to suppose what is apparently absurd and impious. It is absurd, because it is making inspiration necessary, where nothing was less so, every one having natural powers sufficient to transcribe a book, without any extraordinary assistance; and indeed, the little necessity there is for inspiration in such a case, is no weak argument to prove there was no inspiration at all. Further, as the supposition is absurd in itself, so it is impious and profane, viz. to make the Holy Spirit concur to the production of a mere cheat and imposture; for such certainly is every book, that is composed out of another's works, without any intimation that it is so. Nor will the goodness of the plagiarist's design at all alter the case; for whatever merit men may imagine in such pious frauds, I hope none will think God himself so pleased with them, as to be the immediate author of them.

I am very well aware it may be here urged, that *two of the books now received into the canon, seem to be taken out of, or transcribed from, two of the others*; viz. The Gospel of St. Mark out of that of St. Matthew, and the Epistle of Jude out of that of St. Peter.

The objection is indeed specious; to which I now answer only, that as to the common opinion of St. Mark's being an epitome of St. Matthew, I have elsewhere<sup>t</sup> largely disproved it, and am so vain as to think, the arguments I have there formed against it may be sufficient to convince any one of the falsehood of it. As to Jude's Epistle being an epitome of the second Epistle of St. Peter, I shall defer the consideration of it to a more convenient place hereafter.

<sup>t</sup> See my Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel against Mr. Whiston, chap. vi—x.



## CHAP. XIV.

*The Syriac version proposed as a good means to determine the canon of the New Testament. An historical account of the version.*

## PROP. XV.

The translation of the books of the New Testament in Syriac is of very considerable service in determining and fixing the canon of those books.

THE truth of this proposition depends upon the antiquity of the version; for if the most ancient Christians are to be judges, and their testimony is to determine in this matter, (as has been proved, Prop. III.) their judgment can no way be more evident, than in the collection or choice which they made of books to be translated into their own language; and if such collection of books was made by the eastern churches in the time, or at least near the time of the apostles, it must consequently be of great weight in deciding this matter. That therefore which is incumbent on me, in order to establish this new proposition, is to shew, *that the Syriac version of the New Testament was made in or near the apostles' times.* And in this matter I shall think it worth while to be somewhat particular and large, not only because the proof of this will be of such prodigious service to our present purpose, and to many other valuable ends; but hereby hoping withal to do somewhat towards reviving the credit of this most ancient monument of Christianity, and influencing some at least to learn the language of this version, which is both so useful and so easily learnt.

In my Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, I have attempted something of this same sort; but as that happened to be in the last sheet of the book, the inconveniency of the press obliged me to contract my thoughts; for which reason, as well as for the sake of those who have not seen that book, I shall not judge it amiss to make use of any thing which I have there said, adding any discoveries I have since made on the subject. In managing of which I will produce,

1. All that is historical concerning it.
2. The judgments of learned men about it.

3. Some arguments by which the antiquity of the version will be established.

1. *As to the history of this version.* It is a constant and ancient tradition among the Syrians, that *it was made by Saint Mark*. This account we have from Postellus, who travelled into the eastern parts of the world, in order to inform himself of all that he could among them, who declares, that the Syrians delivered it to him as an ancient tradition, "that St. Mark translated his own Gospel, and the rest of the books of the New Testament, into his own country's [i. e. the Galilæan or Syriac] language". The first time the Europeans became acquainted with this version, was in the year of Christ 1562, on this occasion: Ignatius, a patriarch of Antioch, hearing of the advantages of printing, sent a certain priest of Mesopotamia, called Moses Meridinæus, into Europe with a copy of the Syriac Testament, to be printed for the benefit of the Christians in those eastern parts of the world; who, failing in the execution of his design both at Rome and at Venice, at length fortunately met with Albertus Widmanstadius in Germany, who with the encouragement and assistance of the then emperor Ferdinand, caused it to be printed in Syriac characters\*. In this edition were wanting, the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation. After this edition of Widmanstadius at Vienna, several others were soon published by Tremellius, Guido Fabritius, (who had the advantage of an ancient manuscript, which the aforementioned Postellus procured in his travels in the Levant country,) Trostius, and others. All these were published without the four mentioned catholic Epistles, and the Revelation; though these have been since added in the later editions of the French and English Polyglotts, and those of Gutbirius and Schaaf, for which the world is obliged to Mr. Pocock of Oxford, and the learned De Dieu; the former of which first published the four Epistles out of an ancient manuscript, that lay concealed in the Bodleian at Oxford, and the latter the Revelation, out of a manuscript of Scaliger's in the library at Leyden. This is all I know relating

\* Guid. Fabrit. Præfat. in Syr. Test.

\* See the Prefaces of the several editions, especially that of Schaaf's.

to the history of this version; except that I have somewhere read, that some of the Syrians ascribe this version to Thaddæus, one of the apostles, as its author, who composed it for Abgarus, king of Edessa; and that there are several manuscripts of the whole, or some parts of the translation now in Europe; viz. two in the duke of Florence's library, one of which is above a thousand years old, the other not much less; three in the French king's not very old, one of which Gutbrius had from Constantine l'Empereur, that of Postellus, and those above mentioned 7.

2. I proposed in the next place to shew, *what the judgment and opinion of learned men concerning the antiquity of this version has been.* And though I never thought numbers any evidence of truth, yet they certainly are of appearance of truth; and it must needs be very unreasonable to suppose a great number of disinterested persons of sense and learning would receive that for truth, which at least had not some plausible reasons to support it; such certainly is the case in respect of this translation.

The first I produce is Tremellius, who published it and translated it into Latin. "By whom," says he, "or by what authors, or what time the Syriac version was made out of its original Greek, we are not yet able positively to determine, any more than concerning the authors who made the Greek version of the Old Testament, and the old Latin Vulgate; *But it seems every way probable, that it was made in the very infancy of the church of Christ, either by the apostles themselves or their disciples*; unless we will imagine them in their writings to have had a concern only for the churches of foreign nations, and none for those of their own country z."

Our learned Mr. Fuller<sup>a</sup> calls it, "most ancient, a very excellent and truly divine monument of Christianity."

Alsted<sup>b</sup>, "*The Syriac version of the New Testament is to be attributed to the church of Antioch, while yet in its infancy, and to those in that city who were first called Chris-*

7 Simon, Critic. Hist. of the New Test. Par. 2. c. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Præfat. in Vers. Syr.

<sup>a</sup> Miscel. Sacr. lib. 3. c. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Præcognit. Theolog. lib. 2. c.

*“ tians ; and though the author of it be not certainly known, yet it is very likely it was made either by some apostles, or their disciples.”*

Jacobus Martini, in his Preface to Trostius's edition<sup>c</sup>, *“ It is a version, but the first and most ancient of all—it is a version preferable to all others ; it is a version made either by one of the evangelists, or by some of the Christians at Antioch, who had the opportunity of consulting with the apostles there.”*

Frederic Spanheim the father<sup>d</sup> had the same opinion of its antiquity.

Bishop Walton has attempted to prove it was made in the apostles' time<sup>e</sup>.

Frederic Spanheim the son<sup>f</sup>, in his Ecclesiastical History, *places this version in the second century after Christ ; assenting to the agreed opinion of learned men, that it was made very near the apostles' time.*

Father Simon no where contradicts the abovementioned opinions, but allows its claim to the greatest antiquity just ; and well observes, that *“ it preceded all those schisms, which afterwards divided the eastern nations into different sects : and this,”* he adds, *“ is the cause why they all equally esteem it.”*

Such have been the received sentiments of the learned concerning this version, though I confess none of these, or any other I have met with, seem to have treated the subject with that accuracy, or in that full manner its importance requires. I shall therefore make it the business of the following chapter, to evince its true antiquity in the clearest and best method I am able.

<sup>c</sup> See more of this in that preface.

<sup>d</sup> Dub. Evang. Par. 1. Dub. 23. §. 4. and Par. 2. Dub. 5. §. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Prolegom. in Polyglott. 13. §. 15.

<sup>f</sup> Histor. Christ. Sæcul. 2. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Critic. Histor. of the New Test. Part 2. c. 13.

## CHAP. XV.

*An attempt towards proving, that the Syriac version was made in the apostles' times: a particular account of the Syriac language; its rise, nature, and use among the Jews in our Saviour's time.*

HAVING given the history and judgments of others about the Syriac version, I am now to endeavour,

3. *To establish its antiquity.* And here I find it necessary to premise, that such proof is not to be expected here, as of some other facts near the apostles' times, because we have now extant scarce any Christian writings of those times, by men who understood this language, except the apostles themselves. Notwithstanding, I hope the following observations will make it something more than probable, that the Syriac version was made in or near the apostles' times.

Obs. 1. *The Christian religion was first published and received in Syria.* I need not particularly enter into the geography of this country; it is certain the limits of it have been variously described by the ancients: it is enough for me to observe, that in the time, to which my subject relates, under the name Syria was included all that part of Asia, which was bounded on the north by mount Amanus, which separated it from Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Armenia; on the east by the river Euphrates, which separated it from Mesopotamia; on the south by Arabia; on the west by that which is called the Syrian sea, or the end of the Mediterranean, and part of Egypt<sup>h</sup>. In these confines Christianity had its birth, and here it first spread. This is evident to those who are acquainted with the history of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and consider, that in this country was Judæa, Samaria, Phœnicia, &c. and that in it were Jerusalem, the towns of Galilee, Damascus, Antioch, Cæsarea, Seleucia, and others, which we read of so often in the forementioned history, where the first churches of Christians were planted. In this country our Saviour lived and preached: in this country the apostles first travelled and spread the gospel; here they made immediately innumerable converts, and formed them into churches pro-

<sup>h</sup> Vide Cluver. Geogr. l. 5. c. 20.

fessing the religion of Christ. At Jerusalem many (*μυριάδες*) ten thousands soon embraced Christianity<sup>i</sup>. The city and country of Samaria was converted by Philip's preaching, and confirmed in their faith by Peter and John<sup>k</sup>. Philip published the gospel all the way from thence to Cæsarea<sup>l</sup>. St. Paul's design to persecute at Damascus, is a proof there were great numbers of Christians there<sup>m</sup>, which himself afterwards confirmed and increased<sup>n</sup>. Peter by his miracles and preaching mightily augmented the number of Christians at Joppa<sup>o</sup>, and was successful in making proselytes at Cæsarea<sup>p</sup>. The apostles, who were dispersed upon the persecution of Stephen, baptized many to the Christian faith in Phœnicia and Antioch<sup>q</sup>, where Barnabas being sent, made large additions of converts<sup>r</sup>, and afterwards together with Paul preached among them for a whole year<sup>s</sup>. Thus was this large country of Syria, with its principal cities and towns converted to Christianity, by the preaching of the apostles, within the space of ten or twelve years.

Obs. 2. *The language of all these converts was Syriac, or the same with that translation we are now discussing.* I mean, not so exactly the same, as that there were no various dialects; it is plain there were by the instance of Peter, whose dialect proved him to be a Galilean<sup>t</sup>; but that they were also intelligible to one another plainly appears by the same instance; the difference in the way of speaking in one part of this country from another, seeming to have been no more, than in one part of England from another. The language is indeed sometimes called Chaldee, sometimes Syriac, sometimes Syro-Chaldaic; but most commonly by the writers of the New Testament, and first Christian writers, it is called Hebrew. I need not now enter into any critical inquiries concerning the language; only for the sake of those who are unacquainted with these things, I shall lay down the following remarks, which, if it were necessary, it would be no difficult matter to confirm.

1. *The original or primeval language of the world was Hebrew<sup>u</sup>.*

<sup>i</sup> Acts xxi. 20.    <sup>k</sup> Acts viii. 5, 14, 25.    <sup>l</sup> Acts viii. 40.    <sup>m</sup> Acts ix. 1, 2, 10.    <sup>n</sup> Acts ix. 20, 22.    <sup>o</sup> Acts ix. 42.    <sup>p</sup> Chap. x.    <sup>q</sup> Acts xi, 19. &c.    <sup>r</sup> Acts xi. 22.    <sup>s</sup> Acts xi. 26.    <sup>t</sup> Matt. xxvi. 73.    <sup>u</sup> Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 15.

2. *This continued universal till the flood, and so on till the attempt of building of the tower of Babel*; for then the whole earth was of one language and of one speech<sup>2</sup>, about seven-hundred hundred and fifty years after the creation.

3. *At that time there was a confusion of languages*; and men being scattered into different parts of the earth, and not conversing with each other, formed different dialects of speech<sup>3</sup>.

4. *These seem to have been no other than the various dialects of the old Hebrew*; as Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and the other languages of that eastern part of the world are: just as from the Latin we see the Italian, French, and Spanish had their original<sup>4</sup>.

5. *The Chaldee or Syriac dialect was the language of Syria and Mesopotamia, and the adjacent country.* This is evident from the title Laban the Syrian put upon his monument, viz. *יגר שדדוּרַת*, which are plain Syriac or Chaldee words<sup>5</sup>; and from Rabshakeh's speech to the Jews, which is expressly said to be delivered *אַרְמִיָּת*, i. e. in Syriac<sup>6</sup>.

6. *The family of Abraham, through all their various ages, retained their old Hebrew language pure and uncorrupt till the Babylonish captivity.* This is evident, because all the books of the Old Testament wrote before that time are in that language; and in the last-cited place, the Jewish officers desired to communicate with Rabshakeh in Syriac, and not in Hebrew, that so the common people in Jerusalem might not understand them.

7. *After the captivity they forgot their own Hebrew, and learnt the language of the Chaldeans or Syrians, or rather mixed it with their own.* This appears, in that a great part of the books of Ezra and Daniel, which were wrote after the captivity, are wrote in this language; and they had need of interpreters to translate the other books, when they were read in the synagogues in Hebrew, which they did not understand, into Chaldee which they did<sup>7</sup>.

8. *This Chaldean or Syriac language, or, as some call it, Syro-Chaldaic dialect, was the language of Jerusalem and*

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xi. 1.      <sup>3</sup> Gen. xi. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Le Clerc Dissert. de Lingu. Heb. præfix. Comment. in Pentateuch.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxxi. 47.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Lightfoot, Harm. New Test. §. 17.

*Galilee, and all the country about, in our Saviour's time.* There needs no other proof of this, than the great number of Syriac words, which are now remaining in the Greek Testament; such as Talitha Kumi<sup>d</sup>, Ephphatha<sup>e</sup>, Eloi, Eloi, Lama sabachthanif, Bethesda<sup>f</sup>, Golgotha<sup>h</sup>, Gabbathai<sup>i</sup>, Racak<sup>k</sup>, Cephas<sup>l</sup>, Aceldama<sup>m</sup>, Boanerges<sup>n</sup>, Maran-atha<sup>o</sup>, Bar-Jona<sup>p</sup>, Abba<sup>q</sup>, &c. These are all evidently Syriac words, (as they know, who are the least acquainted with the language,) and such as were in common use among the Jews, in our Saviour's time. I would only observe further concerning one of these Syriac words, viz. Aceldama, that it is said to be ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, i. e. *in their own dialect, which they then spake.*

Those who are not acquainted with these studies will be very likely to object here, *that we read nothing of the Syriac in the New Testament, but that the words above are commonly called Hebrew*; which is indeed true, as also that the first Christian writers commonly call the language of the Jews at this time Hebrew. But it is easy to answer, that Hebrew being the old language, and the other derived from it, and not very different, it is no wonder the Jews were fond of the old name, and always retained it. And as to the fathers, it cannot be strange, they should call it as the Jews did, they generally being ignorant of either language; though Justin Martyr, who lived in Syria, speaks of Hebrew and Syriac, as of one and the same language, Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 331. And the most learned of the fathers, Jerome, who understood both, perpetually observes the difference; and Nonnus, who lived in the fourth century, in his Paraphrase on St. John's Gospel in Greek verse, for Hebrew puts Syriac. So on John xix. 13.

Γαββαθὰ παφλάζοντι Σύρω κικλήσκετο μύθος.

And verse 17. of the same chapter,

Γολγοθα τὸν καλίσκε Σύρων στόμα, &c.

And verse 20. concerning the inscription on the cross,

Αὐσονὴ γλώσσῃ τε Σύρω καὶ Ἀχαΐδι φωνῇ.

It is plain then, that Syriac was the language of Judæa in

<sup>d</sup> Mark v. 41.    <sup>e</sup> Mark vii. 34.    <sup>f</sup> Mark xv. 34.    <sup>g</sup> John v. 2.    <sup>h</sup> Matt. xxvii. 33.    <sup>i</sup> John xix. 13.    <sup>k</sup> Matt. v. 22.    <sup>l</sup> John i. 42.    <sup>m</sup> Acts i. 19.    <sup>n</sup> Mark iii. 17.    <sup>o</sup> 1 Cor. xvi. 22.    <sup>p</sup> Matt. xvi. 17.    <sup>q</sup> Mark xiv. 36.



our Saviour's time, that in which himself and his apostles conversed and preached. Mr. Vossius is the only one I know of a contrary opinion; he thinks the common language of Jerusalem and that country was Greek<sup>r</sup>; but it is plain from Acts xxi. 37. the common Jews did not understand that language; and Josephus expressly tells us<sup>s</sup>, that "it was a strange language to him and his countrymen." If any one has a mind to see more of this controversy, he may see it warmly managed between father Simon<sup>t</sup> and Vossius<sup>u</sup>, in the books cited in the margin. All that I shall further add, is, that inasmuch as I have promiscuously above used the words Chaldee and Syriac, the reason thereof is, because those two dialects are so very much alike, and indeed almost the same, as every one knows, who is acquainted with the very rudiments of them, and may be very easily perceived by those, who have not learnt the languages, if they will but cast their eye upon Buxtorf's Chaldee and Syriac Grammar; or perhaps more clearly, if they consult that incomparable Harmonical Grammar of the Orientals compiled by Ernestus Gerhardus, founded upon Schickard's Hebrew Rules. The truth is, there is scarce any difference at all between them, save only in a few words, and the punctuation. "There would be but little difference visible between Chaldee and Syriac," says the learned critic in these languages, Lud. de Dieu<sup>x</sup>, "if those who affixed the points to them had thought it fit. I distinguish them," says he, "because others do; and some little difference there is in forming the words; else for my part I own them to be one and the same language<sup>y</sup>." So Amira<sup>z</sup>, and to the same purpose our celebrated countryman Fuller<sup>a</sup>; "the Chaldee and Syriac dialects are not so properly said to be alike, as to be almost the same." And in another place<sup>b</sup> accounts for it by a learned proof, that the Syrians and Chaldeans were one and the same people. And I cannot but observe here, that what the prophet Daniel in one place calls לשון כשדים, i. e. *the*

<sup>r</sup> Voss. Respons. ad iterat. P. Simon. Object.

<sup>s</sup> Præfat. in Antiq. Jud. et Præfat. in Bell. Judaic.

<sup>t</sup> Critical History of the New Test. part 1. c. 6.

<sup>u</sup> Lib. jam cit.

<sup>x</sup> See his preface to his Syriac and Chaldee Grammar.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> Præfud. in Gram. Syr. seu Chald.

<sup>a</sup> Miscell. Sacra: l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 3. c. 20.

language of the Chaldeans<sup>c</sup>, in the next chapter is called אַרְמִית, i. e. Syriac<sup>d</sup>.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Several observations, which prove the Syriac version made in or near the apostles' times.*

Obs. 3. *It was absolutely needful, that a version should be made; and therefore very probable, a version was made of the books of the New Testament into the Syriac language, in or near the apostles' times.*

This observation naturally arises and follows from the two foregoing; for if, as has been proved, an innumerable multitude of persons were converted to Christianity in Jerusalem and Galilee, in Cæsarea, Damascus, Samaria, Joppa, Lydda, Antioch, and all over Syria; if the language of all this country was Syriac, there can be nothing more unreasonable than to suppose, they were for any long time destitute of those inspired books, which contained the foundations of their new religion. To suppose this, would argue them either to have very little knowledge of, or very little zeal for, their profession; neither of which was the case we are sure. Nothing can be more reasonably concluded, than that upon the foregoing hypothesis, either the apostles or themselves would take care to have a good version as soon as might be.

1. *It may with a great deal of reason be supposed, that some one or other of the apostles would take care to have the sacred books of Christianity published among the churches of Syria in their own language.* This would be the best and most likely means of preserving and propagating those doctrines and that faith, which they had declared among them. Without this, I cannot see, how they could expect any other than the speedy decay of the Christian religion after their time, even when it made the most flourishing figure in their time. On the other hand, a version (made by themselves, or a person of their appointment) of their writings into the language of the country, would be a very probable method of advancing the work they had been so long labouring in, of keep-

<sup>c</sup> Dan. i. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Dan. ii. 4.

ing up those truths, which else must have been forgot, and of preventing those errors and heresies, which they saw springing up in the church, &c.

2. If we suppose the apostles thus negligent of the interests of Christianity, *it will be very absurd to imagine the faithful Christians themselves to be negligent in a matter of such importance, in which they could not but see themselves so nearly concerned.* The zeal for the Christian religion, which they evidenced in forsaking all on its account, and exposing themselves to the rage and malice of the world, would sure make them solicitous to have the genuine and authentic memoirs of it in their own language. For instance, the converts at Jerusalem, in whom there must needs be by education the greatest esteem for all those books, which they believed did come from God; can it be thought, they would not endeavour to have the History of the Life and Doctrines of Christ, as well as the Old Testament translated into their known language, especially when they certainly believed the inspiration of the one as well as the other? I might further argue this from the character of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and other bishops of Syria, who must needs be very defective in their duty to the churches over which they were set, if they did not take care they should be supplied with the inspired volumes, which themselves valued so much. I conclude therefore, that as a version into Syriac was necessary to be made in or near the apostles' time, so it is probable one was then made.

Obs. 4. *The Christians of Syria were wont to read the sacred scriptures of the New Testament in their churches and public assemblies very soon after the apostles' time; and therefore a translation of them was then made into the Syriac language.*

Although I might confirm this observation by many instances, yet the instance which I shall produce being so demonstrative of the fact, I shall content myself with producing only that. The passage I refer to is that of Justin Martyr, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and plainly speaks of himself as being "a disciple of the apostles," ἀποστόλων γινόμενος μαθητής<sup>c</sup>. He tells us, that in their religious assemblies "every Sunday the writings of the apostles and

<sup>c</sup> Epist. ad Diognet. p. 501.

“prophets were read<sup>f</sup>.” Now Justin was a native, as he himself says<sup>g</sup>, of Palestine in Syria, viz. Neapolis in Samaria, in which country, as has been proved, Syriac was the language. Now unless a version was made of the apostles’ writings into this language, it had been very preposterous for them to have read them in their churches; unless we suppose them like the later papists, who will neither suffer translations of the scriptures to be made into other languages, nor any other to be read in the churches, but such as the people do not understand. This argument I look upon as conclusive, and therefore shall anticipate an objection or two, which some perhaps may be apt to raise against it. As,

1. *That Justin dwelt at Rome, and not in Syria*, where he was born. To which I answer, that though it be certain Justin was at Rome<sup>h</sup>, yet the accounts we have of him seem to intimate, that he went there *only with a view of presenting his memorials for the Christian religion to the emperor and senate*, and that he was not a resident of Rome; and therefore when this was done, he returned again to Asia, and at Ephesus he had that famous dispute with Trypho the Jew, which is still extant<sup>i</sup>. This seems not unlikely to have been either as he was going to Rome from Syria, or returning to Syria from Rome; because in the end of the dispute<sup>k</sup>, he tells us, they “prayed for his safety in the voyage he was then going to make.” It is true indeed, the words of Eusebius<sup>l</sup>, ἐπὶ τῆς Πάριδος τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο, are commonly translated<sup>m</sup> as though they expressed his fixed habitation at Rome; but the words imply no such thing, but more properly are significative of such a continuance, as is made by a traveller on a journey; and so we find the word διατριβᾶ is continually made use of in the New Testament, to denote the continuance of our Saviour and his apostles for a few days in a place, till they removed to another<sup>n</sup>. Besides, there is another sense, which may be given to Eusebius’s words, much better than that of his translators,

<sup>f</sup> Apol. 2. pro Christ. p. 98.

<sup>g</sup> Pref. in Apol. 2. p. 53.

<sup>h</sup> Vide Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 16.  
Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccl. in Justin.  
et Phot. Biblioth. Cod. cxxv.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 18.

<sup>k</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. in fine.

<sup>l</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 11. in fine.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Vers. Christophorson. et Valles.

<sup>n</sup> John iii. 22. xi. 54. Acts xii. 19. xiv. 3. 28. xv. 35. xvi. 12. xx. 6. and several other places.

viz. if we take διατριβὰς ποιεῖν to signify his *having public conferences, and making public discourses*. This seems most agreeable to the context of Eusebius; and is most evident in that Jerome<sup>o</sup> and Photius<sup>p</sup>, speaking of Justin's being at Rome, instead of διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο have διατριβὰς ἔσχε, which can be taken in no other than the sense last given; especially if we consider, that Photius adds the word φιλοσοφῶν, which, though it be not placed so as to be connected with διατριβὰς, yet evidently ought to be, and the first Latin translator read it so<sup>q</sup>. I conclude therefore, that Justin's abode at Rome was only as a stranger or traveller, and that Syria, his native country, was still his home; and consequently, when he declares to the emperor the customs of the Christian assemblies, he means the churches in Syria; and so that a version was made in the Syriac language, because the writings of the New Testament were read in them.

2. It may be further objected, that Justin could not speak of the books of the New Testament being read in the Syrian churches, and that he himself did not reside in Syria, *because he was unacquainted with the Hebrew or Syriac language*, as seems to be evident from his works. Dr. Cave produces a very remarkable instance of it<sup>r</sup>, viz. "his deriving the word *satana* from *sata*, which," says he, "in the language of the *Jews and Syrians* signifies *an apostate*, and *nas*," (on which account he is called *a serpent*,) "and denotes the same as *sata* in their language<sup>s</sup>."

To which I answer, that though the derivation be, as Dr. Cave says, very childish and ridiculous, because every one who knows any thing of Hebrew now is sure it is derived from the verb שׂוּא, which signifies *to hate with malice*, yet I think it cannot hence be concluded, that Justin did not live in Syria: for,

(1.) *The verb שׂוּא was not in the Syriac language, but another always made use of instead of it*. As there are in the Syriac abundance of words, which are not in the old Hebrew, so abundance in Hebrew, which were not in Syriac. As the

<sup>o</sup> Catal. Script. Eccl. in Justin.

<sup>p</sup> Phot. Biblioth. cxxv.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Vers. Lat. hujus loci Phot. præfix. Opp. Justin. Mart. viz. *Phi-*

*losophicas ibidem diatribas habuit.*

<sup>r</sup> Histor. Liter. in Justin.

<sup>s</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 33r.

language altered, many words were both brought in and left out, among which this was one: this I conclude, because another verb is always made use of in the Syriac version of the New Testament to denote the idea, and never this; so that a native of Syria could not give a just etymology of this word, without being acquainted with the old Hebrew, which at that time, it is certain, was known but to very few, especially out of Jerusalem.

(2.) Suppose the verb *שׁוּב* had been common in Syriac, it will be a mighty strange consequence to infer, that Justin was not an inhabitant of Syria, because he thought another verb or noun in the same language, and not that, was the root of any particular word. Were I to make use of the same argument in respect of an European language, and to conclude, for instance, a person was not an inhabitant of England, because he could not tell, or should mistake the Latin or Saxon original of any English word; the reasoning would be apparently very weak, and the consequence would be, that but a very few inhabitants would be left in England. The case is exactly the same.

(3.) This verb was not common in the Hebrew itself, not being above once or twice to be found in the Hebrew Bible.

(4.) Justin, though a Samaritan or native of Palestine, was born of Gentile parents; as appears by the names of his father and grandfather, which, he says<sup>t</sup>, were Priscus and Bacchius; was educated in the philosophy and learning of Greece, as is evident from the accounts of Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius<sup>u</sup>; and therefore, though he might understand his own country language, it is not at all strange he was no critic in it. But,

(5.) For proof that Justin understood Syriac, I think we need go no further than this very place which is objected. If he had not, *how did he know the word satana was of Hebrew or Syriac original, and apply to that language for its etymology?* Why did he not, as other fathers unacquainted with this language are often ridiculously wont<sup>x</sup>, apply to the Greek

<sup>t</sup> Pref. in Apol. 2. Jerome indeed seems to take them as one name of his father, but is mistaken. Vld. Vales. ad Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 12.

<sup>u</sup> Locis supra citatis.

<sup>x</sup> Thus Lactantius Divin. Institut. l. 4. c. 26. and others, derive *pascha*, the *pasover*, from the Greek *πάσχα* to

for its original? This evidently proves he knew the language. Besides, to put the matter past all controversy, I observe, upon a close and critical inquiry, the two words (viz. *sata* and *nas*, from which he derives *satanas*) are purely and properly Syriac words, which denote very exactly the nature of Satan, or the Devil, as it is represented in scripture. This discovery I take to be of some consequence, and therefore shall endeavour to shew it more clearly.

1.) *The first word is sata*; "this," says Justin, "signifies" "an apostate, in the language of the Jews and Syrians;" and so, I observe, it does. The original Hebrew verb is סת which signifies to seduce, or deceive, or draw aside, and is the very word made use of to express Satan's seducing David to number the people<sup>1</sup>. Hence came the verb נסד very common in Chaldee, to draw aside, or go aside, and the Syriac ܣܬܐ signifying the very same; and so the participle Peal of this verb in Syriac will denote one that goes aside, or an apostate and deceiver of others, and that participle is ܣܬܐ sate, or sata, the very word that Justin produces. This verb is very common in this sense in the Syriac translation of the New Testament; and Gal. iii. 19. the noun derived from it signifies apostasy. The reader learned in these things may see the instances in Dr. Castell's Polyglot Lexicon, and Schaaf's and Trostius's Syriac Lexicons.

2.) *The other word is nas*. "This," says Justin, "signifies" "the same as sata in Hebrew or Syriac," and denotes that, on the account of which Satan is called serpent. Nothing can be more just than this. The word is apparently Syriac, derived from the known Hebrew root נסד, which in Piel signifies to tempt, and is used of God's tempting Abraham<sup>2</sup>. In the Syriac it is often used in the same sense; and the noun formed from it denotes frequently the tempter<sup>3</sup>, on which account Satan is called serpent. So that nothing can be more evident, than that Justin understood the Syriac language; and conse-

suffer, because Christ suffered at the passover, or because that was typical of Christ. Others derive the name Jesus from *idē sano*, &c. which etymologies every body knows are trifling.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. The word *satan*

is not indeed in our present copies in that place; but either it by some means dropt out of the text, or at least must be supplied from 1 Chron. xxi. 1. where it is. Vid. Cleric. Comm. in loc.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See the Lexicons cited above.

quently his want of knowledge of it can be no objection to his living in Syria. I conclude therefore, that if the writings of the New Testament were read in the churches, where Justin Martyr lived, they were read in Syria; and if they were read in Syria, they were read in the Syriac language, because no other was there understood, and consequently a translation of the New Testament into Syriac was made out of Greek in Justin Martyr's time, i. e. within a few years of the apostles' time.

It cannot be improper here to add, that in the book which goes under Justin Martyr's name, called *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox.* I find mention of a Syriac translation of the Old Testament, as there is also in St. Austin's famous book *De Civitat. Dei*, l. 15. c. 13. I might argue from hence the great probability of a version being made of the New also into the same tongue; but, I confess, I question the genuineness of that book, there being something in it certainly later than Justin; and yet I cannot but think the learned Dr. Cave's conjecture<sup>b</sup> concerning it deserves considering, that perhaps it may be that piece of Justin's, which Photius calls *Solutiones Summarie Dubitationum adversus Religionem*, only much interpolated. This conjecture seems probable, which, though the learned doctor proposes as his own<sup>c</sup>, was made long before him by Andr. Rivet<sup>d</sup>, from whom it is evident he borrowed it, though he mentions not his name. This is the more observable, because that learned writer in the page before treats Sandius very roughly, for proposing an opinion of Rivet's in the same place as his own, without mentioning Rivet's name<sup>e</sup>.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The Syriac version proved to be made in or near the apostles' times from some internal evidences.*

Obs. 5. *THE Syriac version of the New Testament now extant is very probably the same, which was made in or near the apostles' time.*

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Liter. in Justin. Martyr.

<sup>c</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>d</sup> Critic. Sac. lib. 2. c. 5. §. 3.

<sup>e</sup> That opinion is, that this book cannot be Justin's, because he, being

a Samaritan, would never have interpreted the Syriac word *Osanna* by *μυγα-λωύνην υπερευμήνην*, when it is evidently of another signification. Vid. *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. Quæst. 50.*



1. *This is constantly asserted by the Syrian churches from whom we had it.* See the history of it above.

2. *There was no more probability of the Syrian churches losing their translation, than of the western churches losing their Greek copies.* For the same reason as the Greek copies did multiply, the Syriac ones would multiply too; and for the same reason that care would be taken to preserve the one, care would be taken to preserve the other. They were both esteemed the word of God, though in different languages; and in the nature of things it seems morally impossible, that the churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, &c. could ever lose a treasure of so much value, and which they so much esteemed, as they did these sacred writings. Add to this, that the Jewish Targums made about this time were safely preserved; and the Christians cannot, with any reason, be supposed less careful of their sacred books than the Jews.

3. *There are internal characters in the translation itself, which evidence its very great antiquity, or its being made near that period which I have assigned it: for instance,*

I. *The first instance in the Syriac version which I propose as proving that antiquity of it, which I contend for, is the translation of the name Ptolemais, as it is in our Greek copies, Acts xxi. 7. by the name ܐܚܘܐ ܐܚܘܐ Acu, or Aco; for it may as justly, or indeed more justly, be pointed with the vowel dse-kopho, than ezozo.*

Now to make out what I design, I observe the most ancient name of this place among the Israelites was ܐܚܘܐ Aco, or Acco, Judges i. 31. This name undoubtedly continued long in use, and afterwards changed into Ptolemais; though at what time, or on what occasion, I cannot certainly tell. Mr. Reiland<sup>f</sup>, and after him dean Prideaux<sup>g</sup>, say it was repaired by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and from him had its new name Ptolemais. This was about 250 years before Christ; and seems a very probable account; I say probable only, because I know not what ancient author relates it. However this be, it is certain, the former name was antiquated and out of use among the Romans, and they called it Ptolemais. So we find by Pliny<sup>h</sup>,

<sup>f</sup> Palæstin. Illustrat. l. 2. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Connect. of Hist. of the Old and

New Testam. part 2. book 2. p. 61.

<sup>h</sup> Natur. Histor. l. 5. c. 19.

“Ptolemais Claudii Cæsaris colonia quæ quondam Ace;” and Stephanus *Περὶ πόλεων: Πτολεμαῖς, πόλις Φοινίκης, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Ἀκή*<sup>1</sup>: *Ptolemais was formerly called Ace*. How the termination *o* should change into *e*, is very easily accounted for; such changes being common, when a word is taken out of one language into another<sup>k</sup>.

Now why the Syriac interpreter should translate it *Aco*, and not retain *Ptolemais*, can be accounted for no other way, but, by supposing the persons, for whom his version was made, were more acquainted with one name than the other. Upon any other supposition, it would have been absurd for him to have changed it. I argue then hence, that this version must be made either before, or very soon after the destruction of Jerusalem; because till that time one may suppose a people (*viz.* the Jews) to retain the old name *Aco* still, out of a fondness, very predominant in that people, for its antiquity: but how they, or indeed any other part of Syria, could after the Roman conquest call it by a name different from the Romans, seems to me impossible to conceive. Besides, it was, as Pliny says, a Roman colony, even in Claudius's reign, and therefore very remarkable; and so in consequence must in thirty or forty years more (in which time the conquest also was) be much more known by the name *Ptolemais*, by which the Romans called it. To suppose therefore that this translation, in which we meet with this old name instead of the new one, was made at any great distance of time after the destruction of Jerusalem, is to suppose the translator acting quite contrary to the design of his translation; and, instead of a name well known to all, to substitute an antiquated name, which could be known but to few. On the other hand, supposing it made about the period I assign, it was a very proper translation, being made for those, who were wont to call this place by this name, as indeed it appears out of the Talmud in many places the Jews in our Saviour's time were wont to do<sup>1</sup>. I only add further, that Josephus, though a Jew, both in his *History* and *Antiquities of the Jewish War*, whenever his occasion led him

<sup>1</sup> Apud Fuller. *Miscell. Sacr.* l. 4. c. 15.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Fuller, l. 4. c. 2.

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Lightfoot's *Centur. Chorograph.* c. 64.

to mention this place, calls it as St. Luke does in the place above cited in the Acts, Ptolemais, and never Ace, nor Acom: unless perhaps where he is relating the history of the Israelites' first entrance into this country<sup>n</sup>; there indeed, as it was proper, in transcribing the history of the Israelites' possessions in Canaan, he mentions this city under the name of 'Αρχή, which undoubtedly ought to be read 'Ακή, as one of the best of English critics, Mr. Fuller<sup>o</sup>, has conjectured and proved; though Bochart thinks the letter ρ ought not to be cast away, and opposes Mr. Fuller herein<sup>p</sup>.

II. The next argument for that antiquity of the Syriac version which I have assigned, I collect *from its translation of the Greek words* 'Ελλην, 'Εθνη, 'Εθνικός, *and their adverbial derivatives* 'Ελληνιστὶ and 'Εθνικῶς. After a careful examination of all those places in the original Greek, where either of these words occur, and a comparison of them with the several translations of them in the Syriac version, there seems to me the most just reason to conclude,

1. That the author of this version was one who had been formerly a Jew.

2. That he lived either before or not long after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the dispersion of the Jews.

Now before these I must premise a few remarks concerning the meaning of those Greek words in the writings of the New Testament.

(1.) *The word* 'Ελλην *in the New Testament is made use of by the writers of it to denote all the world besides the Jews. The word properly signified a Greek; but ever since the Grecian conquests by Alexander, the Greeks became the most noted people, and the Jews, who had but very little acquaintance with the world, called all nations by their name. Hence we find frequently the distinction of all mankind into* 'Ιουδαίους καὶ 'Ελληνας<sup>q</sup>, *into Jews and Greeks, or (as our translators, regarding the sense more than the words, do well enough render it) Jews and Gentiles: just as the ancient Greeks divided all*

<sup>n</sup> Antiq. Jud. l. 13. c. 20, 21. et de Bell. Judaic. l. 2. c. 9. where he particularly describes the place.

<sup>o</sup> Antiq. Jud. l. 5. c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Miscell. Sacr. l. 4. c. 15.

<sup>p</sup> Canaan. l. 2. c. 17. in fine.

<sup>q</sup> Rom. i. 16. ii. 9. iii. 9. Acts xix. 10, 17. 1 Cor. i. 22. x. 32. Gal. iii. 28. and many other places.

mankind into Ἕλληνας and Βαβάρους<sup>r</sup>. But this remark is so obvious and well known, that I shall insist no further on it.

(2.) The word ἔθνη in the New Testament denotes in a peculiar sense all nations besides the Jews. Thus the old Hebrews in their language distinguished themselves from all others, by calling them הַגִּיּוֹרִים and הָעַמִּים, i. e. *the nations*. It would be superfluous to produce instances of this, there being scarce a page in the New Testament, where there are not one or more instances.

(3.) In the ideas of both these words the Jews implied something that was bad; or, which is the same thing, they looked upon all the world as profane, sinners, unclean, &c. They esteemed themselves as a peculiar people, privileged above all the world, only in covenant with God, and so only in hope of his favour; no names therefore were thought bad enough for the people of other countries; *uncircumcised* and *reprobate of God* were with them synonymous terms; and they could say nothing of a person among themselves that would sound worse, than to liken him to a man of another nation. This is sufficiently evident out of the New Testament; for instance, when our Saviour speaks of a reprobate abandoned person, unfit for any communion, he says<sup>s</sup>, *Let him be to you as an heathen*; i. e. esteem him as vile as you do those of other nations, for so the word ἔθνη must signify; and he makes it more than once an argument to restrain his disciples from a sinful practice, because the ἔθνη, *the nations*, i. e. *the heathens* did so<sup>t</sup>. But to say nothing more of a thing so well known, it is easy to see what notions the Jews had of all people besides themselves, as impure and unfit for conversation, from the history of St. Peter's vision, Acts x. For nothing less than a miracle would convince him of the lawfulness of his having any conversation with those, whom they called the Ἕλληνας or ἔθνη, i. e. *of any other country besides his own*<sup>u</sup>. He held it, as he says, an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or to come unto one born in another country; the reason of which was, because they judged them unclean, and were afraid of being polluted by them.

<sup>r</sup> Thucyd. l. i. §. 3. not. 5. in Scho-liis. Strab. l. 14. p. 977. Vid. et Rom. i. 14.

<sup>s</sup> Matt. xviii. 17.

<sup>t</sup> Matt. vi. 7, and 32.

<sup>u</sup> Acts x. 28.

Now this premised concerning the use and meaning of these words in the New Testament, I come to consider, how our Syriac translator has rendered them.

1.) *The word 'Ελλην, by which the Jews denoted all the world besides themselves, the Syriac interpreter very often translates by ܐܠܗܢ i. e. a profane, impious, sinful person.* See John vii. 35. Acts xviii. 4, 17. Mark vii. 26. In other places he translates it ܣܕܝܝܐ i. e. a Syrian, Aramæus. So Acts xvi. 1, 3. xix. 10, 17. xx. 21. Rom. i. 16. ii. 9, 10. 1 Cor. i. 22, &c. x. 32. xii. 13. Gal. ii. 3, 14. iii. 28. Col. iii. 11. In other places ܥܡܡܐ i. e. Gentiles. John xii. 20. Acts xxi. 28. Rom. iii. 9.

2.) *The word 'Εθνικός, i. e. a man of another nation, he translates ܐܠܗܢ i. e. profane or impious.* Matt. vi. 7. xviii. 17. 'Εθνικός, (which we translate after the manner of Gentiles,) Gal. ii. 14. he translates ܐܠܗܢܝܝܐ i. e. after the manner of the Syrians; and so 'Εθνη, i. e. Gentiles, he renders commonly ܥܡܡܐ but very often ܐܠܗܢ i. e. profane. So Matt. x. 5. 1 Cor. v. 1. x. 20. xii. 2. 1 Pet. iv. 3.

Now from these translations I argue,

1. *That the translator was one of the Jewish nation; else it would have been impossible for him so exactly to have formed his version to the Jewish notions.* Who else would have taken every opportunity to have represented all the nations of the earth in such a manner? Nay, indeed, who besides could have thought of it, and so naturally formed himself into the Jewish way of speaking? Is it likely any one but a Jew would call all the world *profane*? or can it be thought, that a man, not accustomed to give these characters, could have so readily on all occasions have done it? But to put the matter out of doubt, I will single out one of his words, viz. ܐܡܝܝܝܐ *Armojo*, which he most commonly uses for 'Ελλην, as may be seen above. The word is the very same with the old Hebrew ܐܡܝܝܝܐ, which signified a *Syrian*, or *native of Syria*. Now to understand the reason of this appellation, viz. why *Gentile* and *Syrian*, or *profane*, were among the Jews synonymous terms; we must observe, that though they were a part of Syria, as the word is generally used by geographers, yet they did not look upon themselves as such, but always had a very contemptible opinion

of the Syrians, as *being idolaters*. So we find in Onkelos's Chaldee version ערל and ארמאי, i. e. *uncircumcised* and *Syrian*, are used promiscuously to denote any *foreigner* or *profane person*, Lev. xxv. 47. because they were their nearest neighbours and idolaters; and the first idolaters mentioned in scripture were Syrians, viz. Thare, Nachor, and Laban<sup>x</sup>; perhaps also because when the Israelites were taught to humble themselves before God, in their form of confession, were these words, *Our father was a Syrian ready to perish*<sup>y</sup>. Thus it came to pass, that the word *Syrian* among the Jews denoted a *profane person*, or an *idolater*, as the word Ἕλλην did, when they wrote in Greek; and accordingly in the New Testament<sup>z</sup> the Syrian woman is called Ἑλληνίς. Now the Syriac interpreter using the word *Syrian* for a *Gentile* or *profane person*, evidences that himself was certainly a Jew; for to no other nation could those words, *Greek* and *Syrian*, be synonymously and promiscuously used for *idolaters* or *heathens*.

2. As this translator was a Jew, so from the translation of these words it seems evident, that he lived either before, or not long after the conquest of Jerusalem. For when the Jews were scattered abroad in the world, they who were become Christians, such as this interpreter must necessarily be supposed to be, could not but learn, that these distinctions were now to cease, and as the apostles taught them, *it was neither Jew nor Gentile, circumcised nor uncircumcised, but the new creature only, that was acceptable to God*. While their temple stood, and they continued together as a people, one may well suppose, that even a Christianized Jew would retain his former notions of all the rest of the world being profane; and indeed this was really fact, as to a great part of the convert Jews, and the best reason that can be assigned for the Syriac translation of the forementioned words. But afterwards they could not but see, I mean those of them who embraced Christianity, that, as Christ had foretold, their former differences were to be laid aside, no persons to be reckoned common and unclean, all sincere persons, of whatever country, were equally acceptable to God, &c. and in consequence of this, their old denominations

<sup>x</sup> Bochart. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Deut. xxvi. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Mark vii. 26. Vid. omnino Joan. Camero Myrothec. ad Matt. xviii. 17.

must cease ; and so this version be made either before, or soon after their dispersion.

Nor can it be objected, that the Syriac interpreter knew no other words, whereby to translate the above-mentioned Greek ones ; for, it is certain, that he not only knew others, but with a great deal of accuracy and justice has made use of them. Thus when the word Ἕλλην in the New Testament is put to denote those who were properly Grecians, or inhabitants of Greece, he makes use of the word ܐܠܝܢ i. e. Ἰωνίς, or Ἰωνικὸς, a Greek, properly so called. So when Paul, according to the forementioned distinction of the Greeks, divides all mankind into Ἕλληνας and Βαρβάρους, he uses the word ܐܠܝܢ Rom. i. 14. and in another place, where he thought the same distinction was made, viz. Col. iii. 11. he uses the same word. So when he means the proper natives of Greece, he calls them ܐܠܝܢ Acts xiv. 1. xvii. 4, 12, &c. and the Greek language he always styles ܐܠܝܢ as Luke xxiii. 38. John xix. 20. Acts ix. 29. xxi. 37. This is a most convincing argument, that where he translates the word Ἕλλην, *profane*, he spake according to the notions and language of the Jews ; and therefore that he lived in the time above-mentioned.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Syriac translation is of the greatest antiquity, because there is a most remarkable agreement between it and our most ancient Greek manuscripts of the New Testament.*

I HAVE in the foregoing chapter produced two several instances, or arguments, out of the Syriac version, which evidence its antiquity. The only one I shall mention further is,

III. *Its agreement with the best and most ancient copies of the New Testament.* This, though perhaps it will not prove it to be of that age I contend for, will at least prove it of very great antiquity. He who will read Beza's larger Annotations on the New Testament, will frequently observe, that the Syriac translation and his famous manuscript, undoubtedly the oldest now in the world, (which he gave to the university of Cambridge,) do in many things agree, where they both differ from others. The same may be said of several other

ancient copies. I shall omit instances, which any one may easily collect, and only establish further its antiquity, by considering the omission of some things, which are found in all our printed copies; first premising, that I do not here determine any thing concerning those passages, the Syriac version being liable to the same corruptions as the Greek copies. This premised, I observe,

1. *That our present Syriac version has not the history of the adulterous woman*, John viii. It is indeed inserted in our English Polyglots, out of a manuscript of archbishop Usher's, and afterwards by Schaaf from thence put into his late edition in Holland, but was wanting in the old Syriac copy. And so we find in many of the most ancient Greek manuscripts, and not mentioned by many of the oldest Christian writers. Most of Beza's manuscripts indeed had it<sup>a</sup>; but of a great number which Maldonate consulted<sup>b</sup>, but one had it. Erasmus says<sup>c</sup>, it was wanting in most of the Greek copies, but inserted at the end of some of them. In the Greek Catena of twenty-three ancient fathers on John, not one had it<sup>d</sup>. Neither Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Chrysostom, Nonnus, (who wrote a Paraphrase on John,) nor Theophylact, &c. make any mention of it<sup>e</sup>. Father Simon saw many old manuscripts in France, which had it not, only some of them at the end<sup>f</sup>. I need cite no more; it is plain, it was formerly wanting in many copies, which, with what has been said above, seems to be a good argument of the antiquity of the Syriac version.

2. *The version has not the famous controverted text*, 1 John v. 7. The late Dutch editor has unfairly inserted it in the text, though he knew it was in no manuscript, and that what he inserted was only Tremellius's translation out of Greek ε. As the former verses, so this also is wanting in almost all the ancient manuscripts, and is not cited by any of the ancient writers against the Arians in the fourth century, nor even in the council of Nice; though some suppose it was made use of by Cyprian before that time<sup>h</sup>. But this is a well known

<sup>a</sup> Annot. in Joan. vii. 53.

<sup>b</sup> Comment. in Joan. viii. apud Simon. Critic. Hist. of the New Test. part i. c. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Simon. loc. cit.

<sup>e</sup> Bez. loc. cit.

<sup>f</sup> Simon. loc. cit.

<sup>g</sup> Var. Lect. ad Calc. Test. Syriac.

<sup>h</sup> Father Simon's Critic. Hist. of the New Test. part i. c. 18.



subject. I only infer, that the want of this text in the very oldest manuscripts, proves the great antiquity of the Syriac version.

3. *The old Syriac version has not in it the four catholic Epistles, (viz. the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Epistle of Jude,) nor the Revelation.* It is true, these are added in the last printed editions, as I have observed above, but were wanting in the old manuscripts, which I take to be a very considerable proof of the antiquity of the version; for their being wanting must necessarily proceed from one of these three causes, viz. either,

1.) Because they were not written when this version was made; or,

2.) Because the knowledge of them was not yet come to the Syrian churches, for whom this translation was made; or,

3.) Because they were not yet universally received into the number of canonical books.

Now whichever of these be said, the antiquity of the version will be sufficiently established. But the first of these seems most probable; because, as I shall hereafter shew, the churches of Syria did both know and receive several of these books at least as canonical in the second century, as it is certain they do now<sup>i</sup>, though it seems they are not ordinarily bound with the others in the same volume, and read in their churches; a very probable reason of which the reader may see in Mr. Richardson's Answer to Toland's Amyntor<sup>k</sup>. Until therefore any thing more probable can be said on the contrary, which I dare say has not yet been done, I think it fair to conclude, that the four canonical Epistles above-mentioned not being in the old Syriac copies of the New Testament, evidences this version was made before they were written. This argument was thought so conclusive by Tremellius<sup>l</sup> and our learned bishop Walton<sup>m</sup>, that from it they were persuaded to believe this version was made in the apostles' time.

Thus have I largely endeavoured to evince the antiquity of the Syriac version; from which how evidently the truth of my

<sup>i</sup> So Guido Fabricius assures us, *Præf. in Vers. Lat. Syr. Test.*

<sup>k</sup> Page 18.

<sup>l</sup> *Præf. in Nov. Test. Syr.*

<sup>m</sup> *Proleg. in Bib. Polyglott. xiii. §. 15.*

proposition follows, every one must see at once: viz. how much it confirms the canonical authority of any book, that it is found there, and how much it contributes towards settling the true number of canonical books.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Some objections against the antiquity of the Syriac translation answered.*

IT may perhaps be judged necessary, that, before I leave this subject, I should give the reader some account of what has been said contrary to my hypothesis of the age of this version; though I protest seriously, I know not myself, nor have yet met with any thing, that can with any force be objected. But to omit nothing in a matter of such consequence, I will propose all that I know has been or can be objected.

1. *Mr. Walter, a learned bishop in Germany<sup>n</sup>, though he allow this version (what he calls omnem laudem antiquitatis) the greatest antiquity, is afraid to suppose it made either by the apostles, or in their time, or even in the times immediately succeeding them; because, says he, then it would be of divine authority.*

But nothing can be more weak than this; for,

(1.) *It does not at all follow, that it must be of divine authority, because it was made by some honest Christian in their time; unless we suppose every writer of their time under the conduct of inspiration: much less does it follow, that it must be divine, because it was wrote by a person immediately after their time; for if so, then the writings of Papias, one of the weakest of authors, the writings attributed to Ignatius, Clements, or any one, who had the good fortune to be born then, must have been divine. But,*

(2.) *If there were arguments sufficient to prove it made by the apostles, which is supposed in his reasoning, I cannot see this should be any reason for our not believing it to be so; viz. because then it would have divine authority; for by the same reason we may reject any one of those books, which are certainly known to be theirs.*

<sup>n</sup> Officin. Bibl. §. 345.

2. *He further urges, that it is not mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Theophilus, Epiphanius, Jerome, Cyril, Theodoret, &c. who wrote in Syria or Egypt.* To which it will be sufficient to answer, that most of them, if not all, were ignorant of the language, and so could not cite it, or had no occasion to cite it; which I may safely assert, till it is proved that they had. But, if my memory do not fail me, bishop Walton, in his XIII. Prolegom. before the Polyglot, shews, that Chrysostom did cite it in his Homily on Heb. xiii.

3. *Mr. Du Pin supposes it made in the fifth or sixth century, because of the addition to the Lord's Prayer, viz. the doxology, and the word eucharist is put there instead of bread, which, says he, does not savour much of antiquity<sup>o</sup>.* The first of these shall be considered presently; the last of these objections, viz. about the word *eucharist*, is founded upon a very great mistake, which one would wonder so great a master of antiquity should be found guilty of; for, to mention no others, I have observed the word *εὐχαριστία* several times in this sense in no later a writer than Justin Martyr<sup>p</sup>, who, as has been proved, lived very near the apostles' time. Nor indeed is it at all strange the word should have been thus early used, when we consider, that the original of it was the apostles' using the verb *εὐχαριστέω* to denote our Lord's action in celebrating this ordinance<sup>q</sup>.

4. *Grotius<sup>r</sup> (as well as Du Pin) imagines this version made after the use of liturgies came into the church; because in it, at the end of the Lord's Prayer, we read the doxology<sup>s</sup>, For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever; which, not being to be found in the most ancient Greek copies, they conclude was put into them after the use of liturgies, and this version made out of such a copy.*

This objection, I confess, appears very plausible; but the force of it will be easily taken away, if it appear,

(1.) That the doxology is as old as the prayer itself.

(2.) If we consider, that we may as easily suppose this pas-

<sup>o</sup> Hist. of the Canon of the New Test. c. 4. §. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Apol. 2. pro Christ. p. 97, 98. et Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 260, 261.

<sup>q</sup> See Matt. xxvi. 27. Luke xxii. 19.

<sup>r</sup> Annot. in Matt. vi. 13.

<sup>s</sup> Matt. vi. 13.

sage, if it be at all an interpolation, inserted into the Syriac version, as into the Greek copies.

(1.) *The doxology seems to be as old as the Prayer itself:* for,

1.) *It is certainly in the best, most ancient, and almost all the Greek manuscripts in the world.* Erasmus, though he disputes against the passage<sup>t</sup>, acknowledges he found it in all the Greek copies: and Brugensis assures us, it was extant in all, except one manuscript at Paris<sup>u</sup>.

2.) *Chrysostom, Euthymius, Theophylact, and others of the Greek fathers, read the passage*<sup>x</sup>.

3.) *It appears manifestly cited by Clemens Romanus twice, in the end of his first Epistle to the Corinthians*<sup>y</sup>.

4.) *The genuineness of the passage seems to me fully demonstrated by that excellent observation of the most ingenious and truly learned Mr. Gregory*<sup>z</sup>, *out of Lucian's Philopatriss.* That merry writer having been ridiculing, according to his custom, the Christian religion and doctrines, (particularly the doctrine of the Trinity, *that three should be one, and one three, &c.*) in the end of the dialogue has these words: "Say no more of those people, but begin your prayer with [the word] Father, and end it with the famous hymn<sup>a</sup>." By this it is evident he must intend what we call the Lord's Prayer; and if so, then the πολυώνυμος ᾠδὴ can mean nothing but the doxology, and if so, the testimony is beyond exception, that the clause was annexed to the Prayer in Trajan's, or at least Marcus Antoninus's time.

5.) It is further urged by the same incomparable Mr. Gregory, that "our Lord gathered his form of prayer out of the tradition of the elders, i. e. the Jewish prayers," and that "this doxology was among them." This he proves, by producing the Jewish prayers at length out of their books, which is more fully done by Dr. Lightfoot<sup>b</sup>, Drusius<sup>c</sup>, and Ca-

<sup>t</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Glass. Philol. Sacr. l. 1. Tract. 2. §. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Glass. loc. cit.

<sup>y</sup> On voit de semblables doxologies dans l'Épître de Saint Clement aux Corinthiens. Le Clerc in N. Test. Gallic. ad loc.

<sup>z</sup> See his Works, c. 38.

<sup>a</sup> "Ὅτι ἴασι τοὺς, τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ Πατρὸς ἀρχάμενος καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν εἰς τέλος ἰσθίσις. Lucian. Philopatr. juxt. finem.

<sup>b</sup> Hor. Heb. in Matt. vi. 7—13.

<sup>c</sup> Præterit. in loc.

pellus<sup>d</sup>. Now hence it follows, the doxology must be as old as the Prayer; though I must own, I am apt to suspect, that though the words of our Lord's Prayer are in the Jewish Eucharologies, yet that these were taken from the Christians, rather than the contrary. Nevertheless, they are of antiquity sufficient to prove the point in hand.

I cannot therefore but blame the rashness of Erasmus<sup>e</sup>, Beza<sup>f</sup>, and others, who have upon slight grounds justled this passage out of scripture, and reckoned it *a trifling addition to the text*, as Erasmus in so many words calls it. All that I know can be objected is, that *it is not at the end of this Prayer in Luke, nor in the oldest Latin copies, nor cited by the Latin fathers*; for answer to which I shall only refer the reader to what is above said, to Glassius's Dissertation on this subject<sup>g</sup>, and Dr. Whitby's Examen of Dr. Mill's Various Lections<sup>h</sup>.

I conclude then, that this doxology being as old as the Prayer itself, can be no argument against the antiquity of the Syriac version. But,

(2.) Suppose the doxology really an interpolation into the Greek copies, and not originally a part of the Prayer itself, *the antiquity of the Syriac version will not be at all hurt hereby*. It is true, the liturgies and forms of prayer, as this objection of Grotius, Du Pin, and, as I find since, of Dr. Mills, supposes, were of late use in the church; and if the Syriac translation was made after these, I am ready to grant, what these gentlemen contend for, that it was not made near the apostles' time. But let the use of liturgies be as late as they please, and the interpolation of the doxology even after them; yet, I say, it does not follow, that the Syriac version was made after, *because we may as well suppose an interpolation of the Syriac, as the Greek text*. I have the pleasure in this thought to join with father Simon<sup>i</sup>, who well argues thus: "No argument," says he, "can be weaker than this is against the antiquity of the Syriac version. If this addition was inserted into the Greek copies, why may not the same thing be affirmed of

<sup>d</sup> Spicileg. in loc.

<sup>e</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>f</sup> Loc. jam cit.

<sup>g</sup> Philol. Sacr.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. 2. cap. 1. §. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Critic. Hist. N. Test. part 1. c. 13.

“ the Syriac version, which might be revised or altered in that place conformable to the Greek copies ; especially since the Syrian churches had their liturgies from the Greeks ? ”

Thus does not this objection any way detract from the antiquity of the Syriac version, nor contradict the truth of my hypothesis, that it was made in or near the apostles' time ; of which I shall say now no more, but leave the subject with one or two, which seem to me important, corollaries.

Coroll. 1. *The antiquity of the Syriac version wonderfully confirms the purity and incorruption of the printed copies of the New Testament.* The connection of this is the agreement there is between them both ; and this is not only very great, but even surprising to one who considers, that our present Greek was compiled according to the judgment and discretion of one single person, out of a great number of differing manuscripts. That there is such an agreement, I aver upon a long and close observation. Now that this agreement should be, and the places in which they agree be corrupted, is the most absurd supposition imaginable. Each must prove the other to be genuine ; unless we can suppose a combination in the churches of the east and west to corrupt their copies in the same places, without any reason in the world.

Coroll. 2. *The Syriac version is of very great service in explaining many passages in the New Testament.* He who will consider, that this was the language which our Saviour and his apostles spake to each other, the idiom of which is preserved in the sacred writings ; he who believes this interpreter to have lived among those who spake this language, and to have known himself the customs referred to in our Saviour's and his apostles' discourses, must needs conclude him a very good guide in the explication of them. I will not produce any instances here, it being not directly to my purpose ; but do venture to say, that very many of the most obscure places in the New Testament are in this version, by the skill of the translator, and the idiom of the language, happily explained ; and so explained, as perhaps there was no other way of coming at the true meaning of the text. This is commonly observed, and many instances of it are produced by Martini and others ; and many more may be found in the writings of Casaubon,

Fuller, Spanheim the elder, De Dieu, and others. I wish this may be thought by any one an argument to incite him to the study of this language, and the New Testament in it.

## CHAP. XX.

*An alphabetical table of all the apocryphal pieces not extant.*

HAVING above produced the names of all the books, that may seem to lay any claim to canonical authority, and which are now not extant, I shall finish this part with an alphabetical table of the same, with the several places where they are mentioned, that so the reader may at one view, and with more ease, see how great their number is, and how frequently they are mentioned by the ancient writers of Christianity.

## A.

1. The Acts of Andrew. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 25. *Philastr. Hæres.* 87. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 47. §. 1. *Hæres.* 61. §. 1. *et Hæres.* 63. §. 2. *Gelas. in Decret.*<sup>k</sup>

2. Books under the name of Andrew. *August. contr. Adversar. Leg. et Prophet.* l. 1. c. 20. *et Innocent. I. Epist.* 3. *ad Exuper. Tholos. Episc.* §. 7.

3. The Gospel of Andrew. *Gelas. in Decret.*

A Gospel under the name of Apelles. *Hieron. Præfat. in Comment. in Matt.*

The Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles. *Origen. Homil. in Luc.* i. 1. *Ambros. Comment. in Luc.* i. 1. *et Hieron. Præfat. in Comment. in Matth.*

## B.

The Gospel of Barnabas. *Gelas. in Decret.*

1. The Writings of Bartholomew the Apostle. *Dionys. Areopagit. de Theol. Myst.* c. 1.

2. The Gospel of Bartholomew. *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccles. in Pantæn. et Præfat. in Comm. in Matth.* *Gelas. in Decret.*

The Gospel of Basilides. *Orig. in Luc.* i. 1. *Ambros. in Luc.* i. 1. *Hieron. Præfat. in Comm. in Matth.*

## C.

1. The Gospel of Cerinthus. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 51. §. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Apud Concil. Sanct. tom. 4. p. 1260.

2. The Revelation of Cerinthus. *Caius Presb. Rom. lib. Disput. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 28.*

1. An Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul. *August. de Consens. Evang. l. 1. c. 9, 10.*

2. Some other books under the name of Christ. *Ibid. c. 3.*

3. An Epistle of Christ, produced by the Manichees. *August. contr. Faust. l. 28. c. 4.*

4. A Hymn, which Christ taught his disciples. *Epist. ad Ceret. Episc.*

### E.

The Gospel according to the Egyptians. *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. p. 452, 465. Origen. in Luc. i. 1. Hieron. Præf. in Comm. in Matth. Epiphani. Hæres. 62. §. 2.*

The Acts of the Apostles, made use of by the Ebionites. *Epiphani. Hæres. 30. §. 16.*

The Gospel of the Ebionites. *Ibid. 30. §. 18.*

The Gospel of the Encratites. *Ibid. 46. §. 1.*

The Gospel of Eve. *Ibid. 26. §. 2.*

### H.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *Hegesipp. lib. Comment. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 22. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2. p. 380. Origen. Tract. 8. in Matth. xix. 19. et lib. 2. in Joan. p. 58. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25, 27, et 39. Jerome in many places, as above.*

The Book of the Helkesaites. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 38.*

The false Gospels of Hesychius. *Hieron. Præfat. in Evang. ad Damas. Gelas. in Decret.*

### J.

1. The Book of James. *Origen. Comm. in Matth. xiii. 55, 56.*

2. Books forged and published under the name of James. *Epiphani. Hæres. 30. §. 23. Innocent. I. Epist. 3. ad Exuper. Tholos. Episc. §. 7.*

1. The Acts of John. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. Athanas. in Synops. §. 76. Philastr. Hæres. 87. Epiphani. Hæres. 47. §. 1. August. contr. Adver. Leg. l. 1. c. 20.*

2. Books under the name of John. *Epiphani. Hæres. 30. §. 23. et Innocent. I. ibid.*



A Gospel under the name of Jude. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 38. §. 1.

A Gospel under the name of Judas Iscariot. *Iren. advers. Hæres.* l. 1. c. 35.

## L.

The Acts of the Apostles by Leucius. *August. lib. de Fide contr. Manich.* c. 38.

The Acts of the Apostles by Lentitius. *August. de Act. cum Fælic. Manich.* l. 2. c. 6.

The Acts under the Apostles' name by Leontius. *August. de Fide contr. Manich.* c. 5.

The Acts of the Apostles by Leuthon. *Hieron. Epist. ad Chromat. et Heliodor.*

The Books of Lentitius. *Gelas. in Decret.*

The false Gospels, published by Lucianus. *Hieron. Præfat. in Evang. ad Damas.*

## M.

Books under the name of Matthew. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 30. §. 23.

1. The Gospel of Matthias. *Orig. Comm. in Luc.* i. 1. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 25. *Ambros. in Luc.* i. 1. *Hieron. Præfat. in Comment. in Matth.*

2. The Traditions of Matthias. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 2. p. 380. l. 3. p. 436. *et* l. 7. p. 748.

3. A Book under the name of Matthias. *Innocent. I. ibid.*

The Acts of the Apostles used by the Manichees. *August. lib. cont. Adimant. Manich.* c. 17.

The Gospel of Marcion. *Tertull. adv. Marcion.* lib. 4. c. 2. *et* 4. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 42. *Proæm.*

The Gospel of Merinthus. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 51. §. 7.

## N.

The Gospel according to the Nazarenes. See above concerning the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

## P.

The Gospel of Perfection. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 26. §. 2.

1. The Acts of Paul and Thecla. *Tertull. de Baptism.* c. 17. *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccl. in Luc.* *Gelas. in Decret.*

2. The Acts of Paul. *Orig. de Princip.* l. 1. c. 2. *et*

lib. 21. in *Joan.* tom. 2. p. 298. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3. et 25. *Philastr. Hæres.* 87.

3. The Preaching of Paul (and Peter). *Lactant. de Ver. Sap.* l. 4. c. 21. *Script. anonym. ad calcem Opp. Cypr.* and, according to some, *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 6. p. 636.

4. A book under the name of Paul. *Cyprian. Epist.* 27.

5. The Revelation of Paul. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 38. §. 2. *August. Tract.* 98. in *Joann. in fin.* *Gelas. in Decret.*

1. The Acts of Peter. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3. *Athanas. in Synops. S. Scriptur.* §. 76. *Philastr. Hæres.* 87. *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccl. in Petr.* *Epiphan. Hæres.* 30. §. 15.

2. The Doctrine of Peter. *Orig. Procem. in libr. de Princip.*

3. The Gospel of Peter. *Serap. lib. de Evang. Petri apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 6. c. 12. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. 4. c. 5. *Orig. Comment. in Matt.* xiii. 55, 56. tom. I. p. 223. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3. et 25. *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccles. in Petr.*

4. The Judgment of Peter. *Ruffin. Exposit. in Symbol. Apostol.* §. 36. *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccles. in Petr.*

5. The Preaching of Peter. *Heracl. apud Orig.* l. 14. in *Joan. Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 1. p. 357. l. 2. p. 390. l. 6. p. 635, 636, et 678. *Theodot. Byzant. in Excerpt.* p. 809. *ad calc. Opp. Clem. Alex. Lactant. de Ver. Sap.* l. 4. c. 21. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* l. 3. c. 3. et *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccles. in Petr.*

6. The Revelation of Peter. *Clem. Alex. lib. Hypotypos. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 6. c. 14. *Theodot. Byzant. in Excerpt.* p. 806, 807. *ad calc. Opp. Clem. Alex. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3. et 25. *Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccl. in Petr.*

7. Books under the name of Peter. *Innocent. I. Epist.* 3. *ad Exuper. Tholos. Episc.* §. 7.

1. The Acts of Philip. *Gelas. in Decret.*

2. The Gospel of Philip. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 26. §. 13.

S.

The Gospel of Scythianus. *Cyrrill. Catech.* VI. §. 22. et *Epiphan. Hæres.* 66. §. 2.

The Acts of the Apostles by Seleucus. *Hieron. Epist. ad Chromat. et Heliodor.*

The Revelation of Stephen. *Gelas. in Decret.*

## T.

The Gospel of Tatian. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 4. c. 29.

The Gospel of Thaddæus. *Gelas. in Decret.*

The Catholic Epistle of Themison. *Apollon. lib. cont. Cataphryg. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 5. c. 18.

The Gospel of Truth. *Iren. adv. Hæres.* l. 3. c. 11.

1. The Acts of Thomas. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 47. §. 1. et 61. §. 1. *Athanas. in Synops. S. Script.* §. 76. et *Gelas. in Decret.*

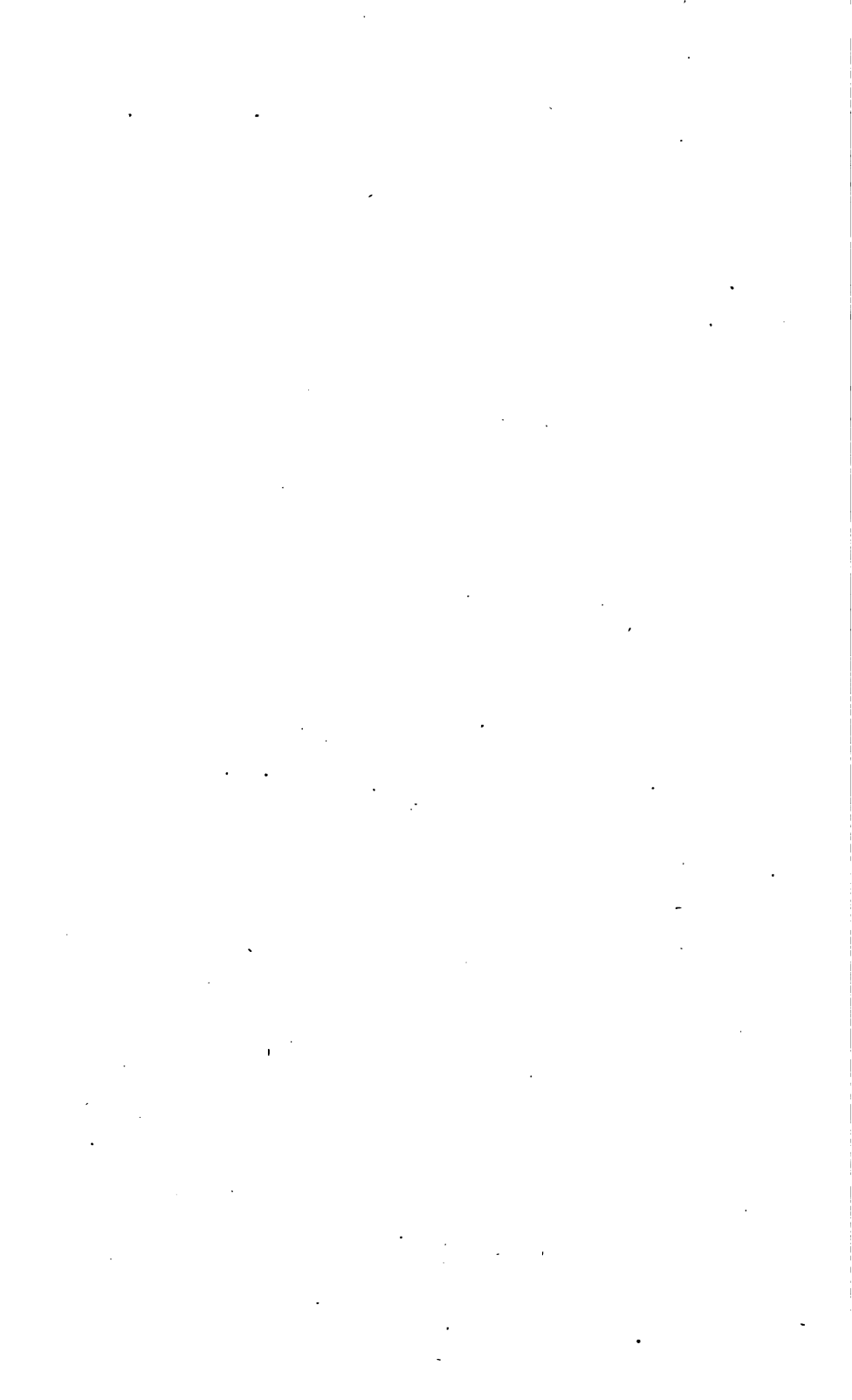
2. The Gospel of Thomas. *Orig. in Luc.* i. 1. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 25. *Cyrill. Catech.* IV. §. 36. et *Catech.* VI. §. 31. *Ambros. in Luc.* i. 1. *Athan. in Synops. S. Script.* §. 76. *Hieron. Præf. in Comment. in Matth.* *Gelas. in Decret.*

3. The Revelation of Thomas. *Gelas. in Decret.*

4. Books under the name of Thomas. *Innocent. I. Epist.* 3. *ad Exuper. Tholos. Episc.* §. 7.

## V.

The Gospel of Valentinus. *Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæret.* c. 49.



A  
METHOD  
FOR  
SETTLING THE CANON  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

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PART II.

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CHAP. I.

*The design of the second part. Some general observations premised. That several titles were given formerly to one book. That several of the apocryphal books were made out of our present canonical books. That no apocryphal books have been ever appealed to by the Christians as of authority.*

HAVING, in the preceding part of this volume, endeavoured to make a complete enumeration of all the lost apocryphal books of the New Testament, and laid down several propositions, by which they may be distinguished from those which are truly canonical; I proceed in this part to make a particular and critical inquiry into each of these books, and, by an application of the above-mentioned rules, to demonstrate, that no one of them ever was, or ought to be, reputed of the canon; withal producing every fragment, and every thing else that is said concerning them by any Christian writer or writers of the first four centuries after Christ.

But, before I enter upon this work, I think it necessary to premise a few observations, which may be serviceable to give light to the whole; viz.

## OBSERV. I.

*That several of the different titles in the preceding Catalogue of lost books, belonged to one and the same book.*

SO it frequently happened, that many of those pieces which appear either to have been entirely the same, or very little different, passed under two, or three, or more different denominations. Thus The Gospel according to the Hebrews, The Gospel according to the Nazarenes, The Gospel of the Ebionites, The Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles, The Gospel of Cerinthus, The Gospel of Bartholomew, seem to have been the different names of the same Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, in some places perhaps altered and interpolated. So also The Acts under the titles of Leucius, Lentitius, Leontius, Lenthon, Seleucus, The Acts of the Apostles made use of by the Manichees, and several other titles, denoted only one spurious book, which was the forgery of Leucius Charinus. In like manner, The Revelation and Anabaticon of Paul were one book; The Preaching of Peter and Paul one book, and the same with The Doctrine of Peter, and several others.

Nor can it be thought strange, that this variety of denominations should have happened to those books; since we find the very same thing to have happened to some of those books which are now received into the canon of the New Testament. "The Gospel," for instance, "which now goes under the name of Mark, was formerly ascribed to Peter, and called his," as we are informed both by Tertullian<sup>a</sup> and Jerome<sup>b</sup>. And "The Gospel which we now call St. Luke's, formerly went under the name of St. Paul," as we are expressly assured by the former of those ancient writers<sup>c</sup>, insomuch that it was a prevailing opinion among the primitive Christians, that when St. Paul in his Epistles expresses himself thus, *according to my gospel*, which he several times doth<sup>d</sup>, he meant the Gospel of St. Luke. So Eusebius<sup>e</sup>, Jerome<sup>f</sup>, and others.

<sup>a</sup> Evangelium quod Marcus edidit, Petri affirmatur. Adv. Marcion. l. 4.

c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor Petri et interpres fuit, hujus dicitur. Catal. Script. Eccles. in Petr. See below, chap. 31. No. L.

<sup>c</sup> Tertull. loc. jam cit.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. ii. 16. xvi. 25. See also Gal. i. 8. 2 Thess. ii. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Φασι δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρ' αὐτῶν (Lucam) εὐαγγελίου μετημενῶν ὁ Παῦλος ἔσθαι, ὁσηνῶκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγεν, Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Quidam suspicantur quotiescunque

If it be inquired, whence this variety of denominations proceeded, I assign the following reasons; viz.

1. *The uncertainty persons were under as to the author of the book.* This seems to have been the case in respect of the various titles of Luke and Mark's Gospels.

2. *The various denominations of the heretics, who made use of the same book, occasioned its having a different title.* For instance, hence it came to pass that the Hebrew Gospel was sometimes called The Gospel of the Nazarenes, and sometimes The Gospel of the Ebionites: and,

3. *Because it was not customary for the authors of those times to affix titles to their works;* and so their works being dispersed into different countries, some made use of one denomination, which they thought most suitable to the design of the book, others of another. Thus, for instance, the book which was by some called The Preaching, i. e. Sermons, of Peter, was by others called The Doctrine of Peter.

#### OBSERV. II.

*Several of the books of the catalogue were compiled out of those books which are now received into the canon of the New Testament.*

IT appeared to the heretics of those times a very probable, as indeed in the event it proved a very successful, method, to propagate their favourite notions under the name of some apostle: this, they saw, would procure them much greater regard and esteem, and this gave birth to most of these apocryphal composures. But though some of them boldly ventured to prefix the apostles' names to that *which was entirely their own composure*, others more artfully *mixed their own and some apostle's writings together*, retaining only so much of his writing, as would enable them with the greater confidence to impose their spurious piece upon the world, *as really his*. Thus did the Nazarenes, Marcion, Hesychius, Lucianus, and others.

in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, *juxta evangelium meum*, de Lucæ signifi-

care volumine. Catal. Script. Eccles. in Luc.

## OBSERV. III.

*No Christian writer hath appealed to, or made use of any of the books of the preceding catalogue (i. e. of the lost apocryphal books of the New Testament) as of any authority.*

ALTHOUGH the proof of this proposition be the main business of the subsequent part of this volume, yet I thought it necessary to premise *some general account* of this matter *here*, because the main of the controversy about the canon of the New Testament does certainly depend upon this question, viz. *What those books are, which the primitive writers of Christianity appealed to, as sacred, in their writings, or after what manner they appealed to them?* Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Toland, and others, who have attempted to make the canon of scripture precarious and uncertain, principally insist upon this, *That the present books of the canon and others are indifferently and promiscuously cited and appealed to in the most ancient records of the Christian religion.* And inasmuch as several learned men have too unguardedly dropt expressions of the like nature, I thought it not improper to give the reader here the following general account of the *manner in which these books are cited.* I assert then,

1. *That, for the most part, the apocryphal books above-mentioned are expressly, and in so many words, rejected by those who have mentioned them, as the forgeries of heretics, and so as spurious and apocryphal.* This I assert (upon the closest and most impartial inquiry into all the places of their writings, where any of them are named) to be true as to almost every individual book.

2. When any book is cited, or seems to be appealed to by any Christian writer, which is not expressly and in so many words rejected by him, *there are other sufficient arguments to prove that he did not esteem it to be canonical.* Thus, for instance, though Origen in one or two places takes a passage out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, yet in another place he rejects it under the name of the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, as a book of the heretics, and declares, “the church received only four Gospels.”

† See below in this part, chap. 28.



3. Sometimes the fathers made use of the apocryphal books *to shew their learning, or that the heretics might not charge them with partiality and ignorance, as being acquainted only with their own books.* Remarkable to this purpose are those words of Origen<sup>h</sup>, “The church receives only four Gospels, “the heretics have many; such as that of the Egyptians, “Thomas, &c. These we read, that we may not be esteemed “ignorant, and by reason of those who imagine they know “something extraordinary, if they know the things contained “in these books.” To the same purpose says Ambrose<sup>i</sup>; having mentioned several of the apocryphal books, he adds, “We “read these, that they may not be read [by others]; we read “them, that we may not seem ignorant; we read them, not “that we may receive them, but reject them, and may know “what those things are of which they [heretics] make such “boasting.”

4. Sometimes perhaps these books may be cited by the fathers, *because the persons against whom they were writing did receive them, being willing to dispute with them upon principles out of their own books*; though I believe there are no instances of this within my time.

5. It may perhaps be true, that one or two writers have cited a few passages out of these books, *because the fact they cited was not to be found in any other.* St. John tells us, chap. xxi. 25. that *our Lord did many other things, besides those which he had recorded; the which*, says he, *if they should be written every one, I suppose the world itself could not contain the books which should be written.* Some accounts of these actions and discourses of Christ were unquestionably preserved, and handed down to the second century, or further, by tradition, which though inserted afterwards into the books of the heretics, may be easily supposed to have been cited by some later writers, though at the same time they esteemed the books which contained them uninspired, and not of the canon. This was the case as to Jerome's citing the Hebrew Gospel,

<sup>h</sup> Legimus, ne quid ignorare videamur, propter eos qui se putant aliquid scire, si ista cognoverint. Homil. in Luc. i. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Legimus, ne legantur; legimus,

ne ignoremus; legimus non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus, et ut sciamus qualia sint in quibus magnifici isti cor exultant suum. Comment. in Luc. i. 1.

which he certainly looked upon as spurious and apocryphal, as I shall hereafter prove.

## CHAP. II.

*A general proof that no book, once canonical, is lost, from the ordinary conduct of Providence, the zeal of the Christians, and the early dispersion of the sacred books into most remote countries. A considerable objection answered.*

### OBSERV. IV.

No book, which was once made or esteemed to be part of the canon, is lost.

BEFORE I enter upon the particular examination of the above-mentioned apocryphal books now lost, it may be necessary to premise some general proof of this matter.

Every one who is acquainted with the writings of our first reformers, must often have observed, that it was a question very warmly disputed between them and the advocates of the Roman church, *whether any inspired book, once received by the church as a part of the canon, is by any accident or injury of time lost and perished?* The papists, contending always for the insufficiency of our present revelation, thereby the better to support their ridiculous sentiments of the necessity of their pretended traditions, have generally determined in the affirmative, and would persuade us, that *many of the most valuable parts of scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, are now quite lost.* Thus Bellarmine<sup>k</sup>, Pineda<sup>l</sup>, and many of the best writers among the Jesuits. This opinion of the papists, as it appears evidently calculated to serve a purpose, would be therefore less considerable, if many other learned men had not too unwarily espoused it, for the sake of avoiding some difficulties which they could not so easily solve without it. Hence we meet with it in the writings of Chrysostom<sup>m</sup>, Theophylact<sup>n</sup>, Calvin<sup>o</sup>; and even our learned Whitaker himself, on this very question, allows<sup>p</sup>, that some of those books are now wanting, which were once constituent parts of the canon of

<sup>k</sup> De verb. Dei, l. 4. c. 4.

<sup>l</sup> De rebus Salom. l. i. c. i. §. 8.

<sup>m</sup> Homil. 9. in Matth. ii.

<sup>n</sup> In Matth. ii. in fine.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Calvin. Harm. Evang. in Matth. ii. 23.

<sup>p</sup> Controvers. I. de Scriptur. Quæst. VI. c. 9.

scripture. This indeed is generally meant of some books of the Old Testament, though the papists also assert it of the New: I shall therefore, without entering largely into the controversy, or searching the common places *of the perfection of the scriptures*, offer only two or three reasons, by which it will appear at least probable, that *no sacred and inspired book is now wanting*; adding only some few remarks on what has been said, which is most considerable, on the other side of the question.

1. *It seems very disagreeable to the ordinary conduct of divine Providence, to suffer a book wrote under the influences of the Holy Spirit to be lost.* It seems to be no small reflection on the wisdom of the divine Being, to say he first influenced the writing of a set of books, (i. e. by his own extraordinary impressions on men's minds caused them to be written,) and afterwards permitted them by chance, or the negligence of men, to be irrecoverably lost. If they were not serviceable to instruct and direct mankind in the methods of attaining the great ends of being, why were they at first given? If they were, it seems hard to imagine, the same kind Providence that gave them, would again take them away. How high such a charge as this doth rise, both against the wisdom and goodness of divine Providence, may easily be perceived by every one who will think impartially on the matter.

This arguing may be very much strengthened, by considering *the great care which the divine Being in all ages took to preserve those books, which are now received into the canon of the Old Testament*, even when the persons with whom they were intrusted were under circumstances, in which, without the influence of Heaven, it would have been almost impossible for them to have preserved them. To instance only that one time when the Jews were under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes<sup>r</sup>, when although that monster of iniquity laid their temple and their city waste, destroyed all the sacred books he could meet with, and at length published a decree, that all those should suffer immediate death, who did not resign their

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Turretin. Instit. Theol. Loc. 2. Quæst. 70 §. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Ἡ φανίζετο δὴ εἴ που βίβλος ὑπερβίη  
ἱερὰ, καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ' οἷς ὑπερβίαι, καὶ

οὗτοι κακοὶ, κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 12. c. 7. See also 1 Maccab. i. 56, 57.

copies; yet was the sacred volume safely preserved, and taken care of by its Author.

2. *The zeal of the faithful at all times for their sacred books was such, as would be a very effectual means to secure them from perishing.* This is well known both of the Jews and Christians; and indeed no less can be reasonably imagined of those, who looked upon these books as discovering the methods of obtaining eternal life, and that religion, for which they willingly sacrificed both themselves and all they had. Hence as under the barbarous persecution of the Jews by Antiochus just mentioned, so under the Christian persecution no endeavours were wanting to extirpate and abolish the scriptures. It is evident, the warm zeal and diligent care of the faithful preserved them; and although the emperor Dioclesian in his imperial edict, among other cruelties, enacted, that all the sacred books should be burnt wherever they were found<sup>s</sup>; yet as the courage and resolution of the Christians baffled and frustrated the designs of his rage in all other instances, so very remarkably in this. Nor indeed could it well be otherwise, when we consider,

3. *That the canonical books were, not long after their publication, dispersed into the most distant countries, and in the possession of innumerable persons.* The truth of this fact has been in some measure demonstrated in the former part of this work, (Prop. II.) and the opposite opinion of Mr. Dodwell refuted. (Corol. I. Prop. II.) I shall therefore take the fact now for granted, and only hence infer, how improbable it is, nay, almost impossible, that any book, so esteemed as the Christians must be supposed to esteem those books, which they imagined to be dictated by the Holy Ghost, so diffused into the most remote countries, the copies of which would also be continually multiplying and increasing, could by any accident or chance, by any human force or power, or much less by any careless neglect, be lost and irrecoverably perish.

The most considerable, and indeed almost all the proof that has been attempted against this opinion is, *that there are some books mentioned, and others referred to both in the Old and New Testament, which seem to have been composed by pro-*

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 8. c. 2.

*phets and inspired authors, and so of consequence canonical, which are now entirely and irrecoverably lost.* Among these are reckoned, The book of the Wars of the Lord<sup>t</sup>, The book of Jasher<sup>u</sup>, The book of Nathan and Gad<sup>x</sup>, The book of Shemaiah and Iddo<sup>y</sup>, the prophets referred to by Matthew, chap. ii. 23. The book of Enoch cited by Jude, ver. 14.

These are the instances generally produced by the popish writers, to prove the imperfection of the canon, as to some of its most valuable parts; which though I shall not here particularly consider, having only concern with the New Testament canon, yet shall make a few such remarks concerning them, as may serve to overthrow the objection, as far as it relates to my proposition of *all truly canonical books being still extant.* I observe then,

1. As to several of the books mentioned in the Old Testament, which are supposed to be lost, perhaps *they are the very same with some of the now-reputed canonical scriptures*, only under different names. Thus the book of the Wars of the Lord (if indeed it meant any book, which may be well questioned) was probably no other than the *book of Numbers, or some other part of Moses's historical writings.* The books of Nathan and Gad, Shemaiah and Iddo, were perhaps the *same with the books of Samuel and Kings, &c.*

2. If we suppose them distinct from any now received, and the genuine writings of men who were sometimes inspired, it does not at all follow, that *these books were inspired, and so received as canonical; unless we will suppose, the same persons, who were once under the conduct of inspiration, must necessarily be always so.* This thought is so well managed by St. Austin, that I shall give it the reader in his own words<sup>z</sup>. "In the histories of the kings of Judah and Israel, several things are mentioned, which are not there explained, and are referred to as contained in other books which the prophets wrote; and sometimes the names of these prophets are mentioned; and yet these writings are not extant in the canon which the church of God receives. The reason of which I can account for no other way, than by supposing, that

<sup>t</sup> Num. xxi. 14.

<sup>u</sup> Josh. x. 13.

<sup>x</sup> 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

<sup>y</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 15.

<sup>z</sup> De Civit. Dei, lib. 18. c. 38.

“ those very persons to whom the Holy Spirit revealed those  
 “ things which are of the highest authority in religion, some-  
 “ times wrote only as faithful historians, and at other times as  
 “ prophets under the influences of divine inspiration ; and that  
 “ these writings are so different from each other, that the one  
 “ sort are to be imputed to themselves as the authors, the  
 “ other to God as speaking by them ; the former are of service  
 “ to increase our knowledge, the other of authority in religion,  
 “ and canonical.” So far he. To support which sentiment, I  
 will only add the instance of Solomon’s writings, who, though  
 undoubtedly inspired in some of his writings, yet can by none  
 be supposed to be so in all; as when he wrote his Herbal, his  
 Five Thousand Songs, his Dissertations in Natural Philosophy,  
 about Birds, Insects, Fishes, &c.<sup>a</sup> And, if we will credit Jo-  
 sephus, “ some books of Magic and Conjuraton, in which  
 “ were described effectual methods of casting out devils, and  
 “ curing distempers by enchantment, with forms of exorcising  
 “ evil spirits, so that they should never return :” an art, says  
 that historian, which our countrymen to this day retain from  
 Solomon<sup>b</sup>. Such books (notwithstanding the famous historian  
 pretends, “ that the arts which they contain were given him  
 “ by inspiration”) I hope the most bigotted advocate for tra-  
 dition would be unwilling to admit into his canon, if they  
 should be ever found.

3. *The bare citation of any book in an allowedly sacred writing is not sufficient to prove that book ever to have been canonical.* If it does, we must then receive as the word of God the Greek poems of Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides ; for passages are taken out of each of these by St. Paul<sup>c</sup>. And yet this is all which the church of Rome can say for several of those books which they suppose are now wanting in the canon.

<sup>a</sup> See 1 Kings iv. 32. &c.

<sup>b</sup> Παρίσχει δ' αὐτῷ μαθὴν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφελίαν καὶ θρασυίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ἐσφράδες τε συνταξάμενος αἰεὶ παρεργαρεύεται τὰ νοσήματα, καὶ τρέπουσι ἐξορκισίαν κατέλιπον, αἷς ἰνδούμυνα τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκίς' ἱκανολογίαν ἰκιδώκουσι. Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Aratus is cited Act. xvii. 28. for those words, τοῦ γὰρ γίνεσθαι ἱερίον. He was a poet of Cilicia, where St. Paul was born. The words are in the be-

ginning of his poem called *Phaenomena*. See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 314, 315. et lib. 5. p. 597. where there are more of the same poet's verses with this.

1 Cor. xv. 33. the verse, Φθίσεως ἦεν χρεὼς ἐμὴ λίαν κακὰ is taken out of Menand. in Thaid.

Tit. i. 12. the verse, Κεῖνται αἱ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαὶ is taken out of Epimenides.

But he who has a mind to read more of this controversy may see it well managed by Whitaker<sup>d</sup>, Rivet<sup>e</sup>, Spanheim<sup>f</sup>, and Turretin<sup>g</sup>, in the places referred to at the bottom of the page, as far as it concerns any books supposed to have been once received by the old Jewish church, but now lost.

## CHAP. III.

*The opinion of the most learned men, grounded on 1 Cor. v. 9. that St. Paul wrote another Epistle to the Corinthians besides the two now extant, examined and confuted, by a critical discussion of the place, and the testimony of Clemens Romanus.*

HAVING in the foregoing chapter attempted some general proof, that no truly canonical book is now wanting, I apprehend I shall not do justice to that subject, if I do not further observe, that *many learned men*, not only of the Romish, but reformed church, *have been persuaded, that St. Paul wrote several other Epistles to the converted churches, besides those which we now have.* This Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Capellus, and many others have asserted: Drusius has carried the matter somewhat further<sup>h</sup>, and tells us, “if these pieces were now “extant, they ought to be esteemed as much canonical as any “others of his writing.” The only foundation of this hypothesis is, *that St. Paul seems to refer to a former Epistle of his, 1 Cor. v. 9.* whence, say these learned men, it is probable he “wrote another Epistle to the church of Corinth, besides “the two which are extant, and several other Epistles now “quite perished.” Mr. Le Clerc is so very sanguine on this head, as to suppose “there might be good reasons for tearing “and burning them after they were read, and that we should “not have been at all the less disciples of Christ, if several of “those Epistles, which we now have, had been lost<sup>i</sup>.” But as this opinion exceedingly lessens the authority of the canon, I shall here briefly discuss it, and critically inquire into that

<sup>d</sup> Controvers. I. de Script. Quæst. VI. c. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Isagog. ad Script. Sacr. c. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Dub. Evang. Par. 2. Dub. 88, 89.

<sup>g</sup> Instit. Theol. Loc. 2. Quæst. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Præterit. l. 6. in loc.

<sup>i</sup> Supplement to Dr. Hammond, and the Vindication of Dr. Hammond, p. 53, 54.

text, which is the principal and indeed only foundation of it. But before I come more particularly to make any inquiry, or examine into this matter, I desire it may be carefully observed, that the examination I here propose does no way interfere with the inquiry I propose to make into the books of the catalogue above; the question in that case being concerning books, which, for the most part, were certainly once really extant, but are to be proved spurious and apocryphal: but the question here is, whether such and such pieces ever were in being at all; which are supposed to have been really wrote by the apostles. Inasmuch then as all that has been urged on the affirmative side of the question is gathered from that one text aforementioned, I apprehend, all that is necessary will be a particular discussion of that. In order to which I observe,

That it has been thought by many, that *St. Paul wrote an Epistle to the Corinthians, before either of those of his Epistles to that church, which are now extant.* This hypothesis is founded on those words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. v. 9. *I wrote to you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators:* which Epistle, they suppose, must necessarily have been one preceding this. This has been generally the opinion, not only of the writers of the Romish church, but also of many of the most celebrated protestants; such as Calvin<sup>k</sup>, Beza<sup>l</sup>, Drusius<sup>m</sup>, Pareus<sup>n</sup>, Grotius<sup>o</sup>, Mr. Le Clerc<sup>p</sup>, Dr. Collins<sup>q</sup>, Capellus, Dr. Mill<sup>r</sup>, and others, who make no doubt to affirm, that “St. Paul did not  
“only, besides the Epistles, which we now have under his  
“name, write this former Epistle to the Christians at Corinth,  
“but several others, now lost as this is; and that we have  
“very great reason with gratitude to acknowledge the kind  
“providence of God, which has preserved to us so many of  
“the apostle’s writings.” In answer to this opinion I would observe,

1. That it is very improbable, because, *not one of the ancient Christian writers have ever mentioned any such epistle; nor is there to be found, in all antiquity, any citation out of it,*

<sup>k</sup> Comment. in loc.

<sup>l</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>m</sup> Præterit. lib. 6. in loc.

<sup>n</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>o</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>p</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>q</sup> See his English Annotations on this Epistle.

<sup>r</sup> See Dr. Mill’s Prolegom. §. 8.



or so much as the most distant reference to it: it being a thing never thought of by any of the fathers, that St. Paul wrote more than the fourteen Epistles we now have. Hence the most early writers of Christianity, who are supposed to have been contemporary with St. Paul himself, such as Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, &c. though they several times take passages out of his Epistles, and even out of those two which are now extant, to the church at Corinth, have not the least obscure intimation of any other.

2. *There are very many circumstances, both relating to the time and occasion of that, which we now call the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, which will evidently prove, that it was the first he ever wrote to that church.* For the proof of this, I must refer the reader to what is hereafter said in the particular dissertation on this Epistle.

3. I offer it as a conjecture to the learned in Christian antiquities, *whether the following passage in Clemens Romanus do not prove the Epistle now called the first to the Corinthians, to be the first which St. Paul wrote to that church.* The words of Clemens are<sup>s</sup>, “Take again the Epistle of the blessed apostle Paul into your hands. What was it that he *first wrote to you* in the beginning of his Epistle? He did truly by the Spirit write to you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because even at that time you were formed into divisions or parties.” The passage he refers to of St. Paul is plainly that in the first chapter of the present first Epistle, v. 12. *Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, &c.* “Now,” says Clemens, “this is what St. Paul first of all wrote to you, or what he wrote the first time of his writing;” than which I cannot see what else it was possible for Clemens to mean by the words *πρῶτον ἔγραψεν*. Now hence I argue, that if Clemens, who is supposed contemporary with St. Paul, and to have wrote this Epistle to the church of Corinth, not long after St. Paul, did imagine that apostle had wrote no epistle to that church before that which he there cites, and which is now

<sup>s</sup> Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐκ ἀληθείας πνιγματοῦς ἐπίστυλις ὑμῖν περὶ

αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κηθῶ, καὶ Ἀπόλλω, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πειτυῖσθαι. Epist. i. ad Corinth. p. 106.

called *the first*, we have the fairest reason to conclude, *there was no one written sooner.*

The only objection which I can think of, that can be made against this, is, that what Clemens calls Paul's Gospel, [Εὐαγγέλιον] I translate *his Epistle*. To which it is easy to answer, that besides that the words, which he cites, are in the fore-mentioned place of his Epistle, it has been often observed by Clement's commentators<sup>t</sup>, that the word *gospel* is used frequently for any of the sacred books of the New Testament, as the word *law* is frequently put for all the books of the Old<sup>u</sup>.

4. It being thus probable, that St. Paul did not write a former Epistle to the Corinthians, we have just ground to *interpret the contested passage in a different sense from that commonly received*; and this, I think, may be very easily done, without any violence done to the expression, of *this same Epistle*, and what he had before wrote to them in it. Ἐγγαφα ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, *I have wrote to you in the Epistle*, or *this Epistle*, i. e. *I have told you in the foregoing part of my letter*. So he had indeed several times in the preceding part of the chapter, ver. 2. 5. 6. that they should have no conversation with the incestuous person. I know it is commonly objected, that this sense cannot be just, because of the words ver. 11. *But now I have written to you*; "which," say Beza, Pareus, and Le Clerc, "must needs be meant of another distinct time "of writing, and not the same;" and this indeed is the main strength of their opinion. But a close consideration of the context will make it very clear, that no such inference can be justly drawn from the words, Νυνὶ δὲ ἔγραφα ὑμῶν, *But now I have written to you*. In the beginning of the chapter he had declared to them, it was their duty to avoid the society of fornicators, and such sort of persons. It is plain from ver. 10. he apprehended they were in danger of mistaking his meaning, by extending the prohibition so far, *as not to have any converse at all with the world*; i. e. *with the Gentiles*, who were generally guilty of these crimes. The apostle found it necessary to prevent their mistake, and therefore repeats what he had before wrote, and tells them how they should understand it, viz.

<sup>t</sup> See Patr. Junius and Dr. Fell in loc.

<sup>u</sup> John x. 34. xv. 25. and 1 Cor. xiv. 21.

only with relation to the professors of Christianity, who were guilty of these execrable vices. This occasioned the words, *οὐκ ἐῴρασα ὑμῖν*, which will be more clear from the following paraphrase of ver. 9, 10, 11.

Verse 9. "I wrote to you a little above, in my letter, that you should separate from those who were fornicators, (ver. 2.) and because you may be in danger of being defiled by them; that you purge them as old leaven, (ver. 5, 6.)

Verse 10. "But fearing lest you should mistake me, I do not mean those who are heathens, and those who are fornicators, covetous, extortioners, or idolaters among them; it being impossible for you, living in the world, to avoid commerce with them:

Verse 11. "But this I mean, and is what I now write to you, that you do not freely converse with, nor admit to eat the Lord's Supper with you, those who are charged with the forementioned crimes, and yet make a profession of Christianity."

This seems a very natural account of the apostle's reasoning<sup>x</sup>, and will appear the more probable if we consider,

1. That he uses the same verb *συναναμίγυσθαι* in ver. 11. which he does ver. 9.

2. That the particle *νυν* often is used in Greek, not as a note of time, but in an adversative sense, the same as *sed* and *nunc vero* in Latin, and the word *now* very often in English<sup>y</sup>.

3. The article seems to refer only to this same Epistle, and not another, and to denote the same with *ταύτην*, as it often does<sup>z</sup>; so we find it with the very same substantive, 1 Thess. v. 27. viz. *τὴν ἐπιστολὴν*, to express the very same Epistle which he was then writing.

4. The old Syriac translator, who lived, as has been proved, near St. Paul's time, well knowing there was no former Epistle of his to the church at Corinth, paraphrases the passage; ver. 11. in the same manner as above, in these words, ܥܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

<sup>x</sup> The same almost may be seen in Sixtus Senensis Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. in Paul. and Dr. Hammond on 1 Cor. v. 9.

<sup>y</sup> So *νυν* is used more than once in this same Epistle. See chap. xii. 18. xv.

20. and *νυν* very often. c. vii. 14. xii. 20. Vide Grot. in loc. et Glass. Gram. Sacr. lib. 3. Tract. 5. Canon. 13.

<sup>z</sup> See Glass. Gram. Sacr. lib. 3. Tract. 2.

لقد كتبت اليك i. e. *This is what I have wrote to you*, or the meaning of what I have wrote to you; by which it is plain he did not imagine the apostle writing a new Epistle, but explaining somewhat he had before written in this.

Thus it seems manifest, that St. Paul's words do not intimate his having wrote a former Epistle to the Corinthians. There is indeed a different interpretation from that above put upon the words by some learned men, who translate *ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, *I wrote*, or *had written*, or *was about to write in this Epistle*, that you should not company with fornicators, &c. but now hearing this high offence, I sharpen my style, and forbid, not only associating with such, but even common fellowship. This is Dr. Lightfoot's conjecture<sup>a</sup>, and espoused by Dr. Whitby<sup>b</sup>, but seems very precarious and groundless.

1. *Because it supposes the apostle to have had different sentiments as to what he was to write*, which indeed Dr. Whitby is not afraid in so many words to aver; "some things," says he, "in this Epistle were changed by him before he sent it to them." But how apparently absurd is this, to imagine this great apostle under the conduct of inspiration, first to write one thing and then another? If the inspired penmen of scripture could thus alter their sentiments, and make changes in what they wrote, what must we think of the infallibility of that Spirit who dictated to them? But as I verily believe Dr. Lightfoot thought not at all of this consequence of his opinion; so I am persuaded, Dr. Whitby, who is so zealous an advocate for inspiration, would have been far from espousing it, had he thought more of it.

2. The paraphrase of the text, according to this interpretation, is very different from the apostle's meaning, as appears from what is already said.

Dr. Lightfoot, in another part of his works<sup>c</sup>, has a quite different conjecture concerning the passage of St. Paul under debate, which though perhaps it be entirely groundless, may not be unworthy of the learned reader's notice. It is, in short, a sort of compounding the matter between those, who imagine

<sup>a</sup> Harmony of the New Testament, in loc.

<sup>b</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>c</sup> Hor. Hebr. in 1 Cor. v. 9.

a former Epistle to the Corinthians now lost, and those who think the contrary. I shall think it sufficient, having said so much on this head already, to give the reader a translation of the doctor's own words: "The apostle," says he, "had sent Timothy to the Corinthians, before he wrote this Epistle to them, (chap. iv. 17.) and it is probable he had sent some epistle by him, in which he had written thus, (viz. the words of verse the ninth; *that they should not keep company with fornicators.*) But when Stephen, Fortunatus, and Achaicus came, and laid before him the state of the church at Corinth, and gave him both letters and certain questions from that church, inasmuch as they knew Timothy was not yet arrived at Corinth, he comprehends and supersedes (or suppresses) that former Epistle in this. So that in some sense you may truly say that Epistle is lost, inasmuch as an exact copy of it is not now extant; but in another sense you cannot truly say so, because all things which were contained in that Epistle, we have in that which is now extant, and many other things besides."

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## CHAP. IV.

*An Epistle, under St. Paul's name, to the Corinthians, and of the Corinthians to St. Paul, now extant in an Armenian manuscript, translated out of Mr. La Croze's Latin into English, with some remarks.*

THE preceding pages being taken up with an inquiry into that important question, whether St. Paul wrote any Epistle to the church of Corinth, before either of those which are now extant; it will not be foreign to the same purpose to observe, that there are now extant in the world an Epistle under the name of *St. Paul to the Corinthians*, (different from the received ones,) and an Epistle under the name of *the church of Corinth to St. Paul*. It is not indeed properly my business here to make any inquiry into apocryphal pieces now extant; that being left for the third part of this work, and the lost books only proposed to come under consideration here. But inasmuch as these two Epistles will not in any other part of this work come within my proposal to be discussed, designing

only to inquire into those pieces which are mentioned by some writer of the first four centuries, whereas these are not by any, I hope it will not be unacceptable, if I digress a little here: and, since I have been discoursing so much on a lost Epistle of St. Paul's to the Corinthians, present the reader with these two ancient pieces, which I believe have not yet appeared in our language, nor till lately in Europe, adding some short reflections on them.

The first account, as far as I know, of them in print, is that of the learned Dr. Gregory in the Preface to his Notes on some passages of Scripture: "I have seen," says he, "the third Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians in the Armenian tongue, beginning, *Paul a servant of Jesus Christ, &c.* and an Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul in the same tongue, beginning, *Stephen, &c. to our brother Paul greeting.*" In a Latin marginal note, he adds, that the manuscript with an Italian version was in the library of sir Gilbert North. The famous archbishop Usher saw the same manuscript in the same learned gentleman's custody, and only informs us further, that it was wrote at Smyrna<sup>d</sup>, taking a small sentence out of the Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul. In the year 1715, Mr. David Wilkins translated both Epistles out of the Armenian tongue into Latin, from a manuscript in the library of Mr. Masson at Utrecht, which are since printed by Fabritius, with another Latin version made by Mr. La Croze, library keeper to the king of Prussia, in the year 1716<sup>e</sup>, from which, as being the last, and, as he says, a more literal and exact version than the former<sup>f</sup>, I have made the following one in English.

*The Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul.*

N. B. I place this first, because the other is evidently designed as an answer to this.

**STEPHEN**, and the presbyters who are with him, Nemenus, Eubulus, Theophilus, and Nomeson, to our brother Paul, greeting. Certain men, whose names are Simon and Clobeus,

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Not. in Epist. Ignat. ad Trall. §. 84.

<sup>e</sup> Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. par. 3. p. 667.

<sup>f</sup> See his Remarks upon these Armenian Epistles, in Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. par. 3. p. 680. et p. 683.

are come to Corinth, who by their artful and delusive speeches have very much shocked the faith of some, to which it is incumbent on you to make answer yourself; for we have neither heard from you, or any other apostle, such doctrines. But this one thing we know, that we faithfully retain (*or observe*) whatever we learnt from you, or the other [apostles.] We esteem it a very great instance of divine compassion to us, that you are still in the body with us, and that we may again hear you, (*or from you.*) As soon therefore as may be, either write to us what we must steadfastly hold [as truth], or else, let it not be long before you visit us in person. We believe in the Lord, and that he shewed himself in a manifest manner, and has delivered us from the hands of the evil one. But their words are erroneous; for they say, there is no necessity of reading the prophets; That God is not Almighty; That there will be no resurrection of the dead; That flesh is not by any means made by God; That the body of Jesus Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary; and lastly, That the world was not made by God, but by some angel. Endeavour therefore, brother, to come speedily to us, that the city of Corinth may continue without offences, and the folly (*or ignorance*) of those men may be brought to a just contempt before all. Farewell in the Lord.

*The Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.*

PAUL, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the brethren at Corinth, harassed with various trials, greeting. I do not at all wonder, that ye are so soon accosted with such, who would draw you aside to impiety. For as our Lord Jesus is about soon to hasten (*or perfect*) his coming, there are (*or rather will be*) those, who both change and despise his commandments. But I from the beginning did teach you the very same things, which I received from the former apostles, who had constant conversation with our Lord. I say then, that our Lord Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David, according to that which the Holy Spirit sent into her by the Father from heaven declared, namely, that Jesus should appear in the world, and by his flesh should work deliverance for all flesh, and raise us again from the dead; of which re-

urrection he gave us a plain instance in himself. Further, it is manifest, that man was created by the Father, and therefore not so abandoned to misery, but that he should be again sought after with care; for he was so sought after, as that by a filial adoption he might obtain life. For God, who is the Lord of all, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, first sent prophets to the Jews, to dissuade them from their sins, and incite them to righteousness: for when he intended the salvation of the house of Israel, he bestowed his Holy Spirit, and sent him into the prophets, who preached the worship of God not liable to error, and the birth [of Christ] for a very long time.

I shall not here enter into any particular criticism on these two letters, no mention being made of them within my prescribed time; only offer to the reader, who is curious in these things, a few cursory remarks I have made in reading them. As,

First, That if we suppose St. Paul did really write an epistle to the church of Corinth before either of those now received, and which he refers to in the words above cited, 1 Cor. v. 9. *this Epistle here translated cannot be it, because there is in this no prohibition of associating with fornicators*, which is supposed to have been in the other, and certainly was in it, if he ever wrote any. Hence it appears either to have been too great a compliment or oversight in Mr. Wilkins, the translator of these Epistles, in his dedication of them to Mr. La Croze, to desire his opinion, whether St. Paul did not refer to this Epistle of his in the forementioned place.

2dly, This Epistle, under the name of St. Paul to the Corinthians, *is certainly spurious*; because,

1. *It is not mentioned by any one writer of the primitive church in the first four centuries, nor indeed by any Christian author in any age till the last.* It is neither quoted, nor placed in any of their catalogues, nor read in any of their churches; and therefore, by Prop. III, IV, V, VI, must be judged apocryphal; as also because it is not in the Syriac copies of the New Testament, Prop. XV.

2. *It contains things contrary to those which are certainly*



*known to be true*, and therefore apocryphal by Prop. VIII. Such is that intimation of the second coming of Christ being very near, in the beginning of the Epistle; a notion which was very much espoused by some of the ancient heretics. See Dr. Hammond on 2 Thess. ii. 2.

3. *It contains several things very unlike to, and different from St. Paul's known way of writing*; and therefore spurious by Prop. XI. Such for instance,

1.) Is the salutation in the beginning; "Paul, a prisoner ———to the brethren at Corinth——greeting;" a phraseology not known in his, or any of the first Christian salutations in their Epistles.

2.) *The author's declaring that he received what he taught them from the former apostles, who conversed with Christ*; whereas St. Paul very frequently assures the churches to whom he wrote, and particularly this church of Corinth, that *what he preached among them, he received not from men, but by immediate revelation from the Lord*. See 1 Cor. xi. 23. and Gal. i. 12. Eph. iii. 2, 3.

Thus much may suffice concerning the spuriousness of this Epistle under St. Paul's name. There is no need of any such remarks on the Corinthians' Epistle to Paul; since, if it were real and genuine, I know no claim it could make to canonical authority. Only one thing I cannot forbear observing, which is a very clear detection of the forgery. They desire Paul to be very speedy in visiting them at Corinth; whereas St. Paul was at that time, as he expressly calls himself, a prisoner. This does not seem very consistent; for such a desire supposes Paul to have been at his own liberty. I shall only add, that Mr. La Croze supposes these Epistles forged either in the end of the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh century.

## CHAP. V.

*The Acts of Andrew received by the Encratites, Manichees, Apostolicks, or Apotacticks, and Origenians, discussed, and proved apocryphal.*

### A.

I PROCEED now to the particular examination of the lost apocryphal books, according to the order in which they are

placed in the alphabetical table at the end of the first part; and so shall begin with that ancient book which was called,

*The Acts of the apostle Andrew.*

N. B. IN considering this, as all the other apocryphal books, the method I purpose to observe is, first to produce all and every thing that is said of them by the ancient writers, and then to make the most suitable reflections I can.

This book is mentioned first by Eusebius<sup>f</sup>.

Τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφερομένας— ὡς Ἀνδρέου πράξεις— ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἤξιωσεν. Πόρρω δὲ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ· ἥ τε γνῶμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντα καὶ δυσσεβῆ παραιτητέον.

Books published under the name of the apostles by heretics— such as the *Acts of Andrew*— which are never thought worthy to be cited in the works of any ecclesiastical writer who taught in the church. Moreover, the phraseology and manner of writing, and the doctrines therein delivered being very opposite to the orthodox faith, evidently demonstrate it to have been the forgery of heretics; and so not only to be looked upon as spurious, but to be utterly rejected as impious and absurd.

2. By Philastrius, in his account of the heresy which he styles apocryphas.

Manichæi apocrypha beati Andreæ apostoli, i. e. Actus quos fecit veniens de Ponto in Græciam, quos conscripserunt tunc sequentes apostolum; unde et habent Manichæi, et alii tales, Andreæ beati et Joannis Actus evangelistæ, beati et Petri similiter apostoli, et Pauli pariter apostoli: in quibus, quia signa fecerunt magna, ut et canes et bestię loquerentur, etiam et animas hominum tales vel-

The Manichees make use of the Acts of St. Andrew, i. e. those Acts which he made (or did) in his journey from Pontus to Greece, and which those disciples, which followed him, wrote; from whence the Manichees, and other such sort of people, have the Acts of St. Andrew, St. John the evangelist, as also the Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul the apostles: in which, because they wrought great

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 25.

<sup>s</sup> Hæres. 87.

ut canum et pecudum, similes imputaverunt esse hæretici periditi.

miracles, such as to make dogs and beasts to speak, these wretched heretics imagined the souls of men to be like the souls of dogs and beasts.

3. By Epiphanius, discoursing of the heretics called Encratites<sup>h</sup>.

Κέχρηται δὲ γραφαῖς πρωτοτύπων ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἀνδρέου, καὶ Ἰωάννου πράξεσι, καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ ἀποκρύφους τισὶ, καὶ οἷς βούλονται λόγοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

They principally made use of those scriptures, which are called the Acts of Andrew and John, and Thomas, and some other apocryphal books, and only what they thought fit of the books of the Old Testament.

4. By the same, speaking of the heresy of the apostolicks<sup>i</sup>.

Οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις πράξεσιν Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Θωμᾶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπεριδόνται, παντάπασιν ἑλλότριοι τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ὑπάρχοντες.

They chiefly depended upon those scriptures, which are called the Acts of Andrew and of Thomas, being altogether different from the canon of the church.

5. By the same, concerning the vile heresy of the Origenians<sup>k</sup>.

Κέχρηται δὲ ἀποκρύφους τισὶ, μάλιστα ταῖς λεγομέναις πράξεσιν Ἀνδρέου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

They make use of several apocryphal books, but principally those which are called the Acts of Andrew, and some others.

6. By pope Gelasius<sup>l</sup>.

Actus nomine Andreæ apostoli apocryphi.

The Acts under the name of Andrew the apostle are apocryphal.

These are all the places where express mention is made of these Acts of Andrew; from whence it is easy, by the rules above laid down, to prove they were spurious and apocryphal, as being not found in any of the ancient catalogues of the sacred books, (Prop. IV.) nor appealed to by any Christian writer, (Prop. V.) nor read in any of their assemblies; (Prop. VI.) but on the contrary expressly condemned as an impious forgery, by every one that has mentioned them. There are not indeed any fragments of this book now remaining; yet it seems not difficult to guess at some things contained therein by

<sup>h</sup> Hæres. 47. §. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Hæres. 61. §. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Hæres. 63. §. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Decret. de Apocryph. apud Gratian. Distinct. 15. et apud Concil. Sanct. tom. iv. p. 1260.

*the agreement of the above-mentioned heretics in receiving and esteeming it above all other scriptures.* This cannot be supposed to have happened by mere chance, nor by any other means more probable, than that this book contained some doctrines or principles which were very conformable to the sentiments of those differing sects. What their opinions were, I need not here lay down; a bare casting the eye upon the accounts, which Epiphanius, in the places cited, and Austin, in his little book of heresies, gives of them, would be almost sufficient of itself to make one question the authority of any book which they had a more than ordinary esteem for. I shall only offer to the reader the observations I have made concerning the agreement between these differing sects, and then leave it to his own judgment to determine, whether it be not probable the Acts of Andrew contained some doctrines which were favourable to them all. The sects I am speaking of are those above-mentioned, the Manichees, Encratites, Apotacticks, or Apostolicks, and Origenians, who all, as has been proved, esteemed this apocryphal piece of Andrew above other scriptures; and the observations I have made, for greater clearness, I have placed in the following table.

The Manichees asserted,	The Encratites asserted,	The Apostolicks, or Apotacticks, asserted,	The Origenians asserted,
1. Two eternal principles of all things, opposite to each other, viz. God and the Devil.	1. Two principles; one of the Devil, opposite to the works of God, and not subject, but superior to him.		
2. The unlawfulness of marriage, and esteemed it as bad as fornication.	2. That marriage was of the Devil; reckoned all married persons as fornicators, and admitted no married persons to their communion.	2. The unlawfulness of all marriages; excluded their communion all who did marry.	2. That no person should marry; and that they only were virtuous, who, like Elijah, Elisha, and John, did never marry.
3. That no person should at any time eat flesh.	3. That no person should eat flesh.		
4. That no wine should be drank.	4. The same.		

More of this sort may be seen in Epiphanius, Hæres. 47,

61, 63, and 66; and in Austin, de Hæresib. ad Quodvult. c. 25, 40, 42, and 46.

Let now any impartial person judge, whether it be not probable, that the reason why these several parties and sects did so mightily esteem the Acts of Andrew, was, because they found some of their peculiar and favourite notions therein; and, if so, then we have another argument, whereby to conclude it apocryphal, viz. that it contained assertions contrary to those which are certainly known to be true by Prop. VIII.

## CHAP. VI.

*Other books under the name of Andrew considered: they were the same with the Acts of Leucius. The Gospel of Andrew. The Decree of Pope Gelasius, relating to apocryphal books, produced, with its various lections: the antiquity of this Decree.*

Nº. II. *Some other apocryphal books under the name of the apostle Andrew.*

I ENTITLE them *other*, although perhaps they may appear to have been the same with the former, because they are not mentioned expressly as the Acts of Andrew.

These are recorded,

1. By Austin, confuting the anonymous author, whom he styles *Adversarius Legis et Prophetarum*<sup>a</sup>.

Sane de apocryphis rite posuit testimonia, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum, Andreæ, Johannisque conscripta sunt; quæ, si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesia, quæ ab illorum temporibus, per episcoporum successiones certissimas usque ad nostra tempora perseverat.

He hath made use of testimonies out of some apocryphal pieces, which were written under the names of the apostles, Andrew and John; which, if they were truly theirs, would have been received by the church, which has continued under an uninterrupted succession of bishops from their time to ours.

2. By pope Innocent I.<sup>o</sup>

Cætera autem, quæ sub nomine Matthiæ—vel sub nomine An-

But the rest [of the books] which are written under the name of

<sup>a</sup> Contra Adversar. Leg. et Prophet. lib. i. c. 20.

<sup>o</sup> Decret. Innocent. I. Epist. iii. ad Exuper. Tholos. Episcop. c. 7.

dræ, quæ a Nexocharide et Leonide philosophis scripta sunt— non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.

Matthias—or under the name of Andrew, which were written by Nexocharides and Leonides the philosophers, are not only to be rejected, but condemned.

Whatever the subject of these books was, they appear plainly to have been spurious by the express testimony of both those who mention them. Prop. III, IV, V. I have only to add, that perhaps these books, as also the former, viz. the Acts of Andrew, were either wholly, or in part, the same with the Acts of the Apostles under the name of Leucius, which I shall particularly consider in its proper place, under the letter L. As also who the philosophers Leonides and Nexocharides (mentioned in this Decree of pope Innocent, as the authors of this book) were.

### Nº. III. *The Gospel of Andrew the apostle.*

THIS book is not mentioned by any, but by Gelasius in his Decree<sup>P</sup>:

His words are,

Evangelium nomine Andræ apostoli apocryphum.

The Gospel under the name of Andrew the apostle is apocryphal.

As there are not any fragments of this Gospel extant, nor any other testimonies concerning it, it is impossible for us now to form any particular idea of it, either as to its real author or contents. It is probable, it was first forged and used by the same heretics, as the other books under that apostle's name; however, it is easy to prove, it never was reputed to be a canonical book, by Prop. IV, V, VI. I have only further to observe, after Mr. Fabritius<sup>q</sup>, that in some copies of this famous Decree of Gelasius, there is no mention made of this Gospel under Andrew's name; and if these should happen to be the best copies, it will then follow, that there never was any such Gospel in the world.

Having occasion here, as I often shall hereafter, to make mention of this Decree of pope Gelasius, concerning the apocryphal books of the New Testament, I persuade myself it will

<sup>P</sup> Loc. citat.

<sup>q</sup> Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. par. iii. p. 526.

be a very excusable digression, if I give the unlearned reader a translation of the Decree itself, as far as it concerns any books which fall within my design.

*The Decree of pope Gelasius concerning apocryphal books.*

1. The Travels under the name of Peter the apostle, which is also called the Eight Books<sup>r</sup> of St. Clemens, are apocryphal.

2. The Acts under the name of Andrew the apostle are apocryphal.

3. The Acts under the name of Philip the apostle are apocryphal.

4. The Acts under the name of Peter the apostle are apocryphal<sup>s</sup>.

5. The Acts under the name of Thomas the apostle are apocryphal.

6. The Gospel under the name of Thaddæus is apocryphal<sup>t</sup>.

7. The Gospel under the name of Thomas the apostle, which the Manichees use, is apocryphal.

8. The Gospel under the name of Barnabas is apocryphal.

9. The Gospel under the name of Bartholomew the apostle is apocryphal<sup>u</sup>.

10. The Gospel under the name of Andrew the apostle is apocryphal.

11. The Gospels corrupted by Lucianus are apocryphal.

12. The Gospels corrupted by Hesychius are apocryphal.

13. The Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour is apocryphal<sup>x</sup>.

14. The book of the Nativity of our Saviour, of St. Mary, and the Midwife of our Saviour, is apocryphal.

15. The book which is called The Shepherd is apocryphal.

16. All the books which Lentitius, the disciple of the Devil, made, are apocryphal.

17. The book which is called The Acts of Thecla and Paul the apostle is apocryphal.

18. The Revelation ascribed to Thomas the apostle is apocryphal.

<sup>r</sup> Other copies for eight read nine, others ten.

<sup>s</sup> In some copies this is not mentioned.

<sup>t</sup> Other copies read here, The Gos-

pel of Matthias; others both Thaddæus and Matthias.

<sup>u</sup> After this, some copies have The Gospel of James the Less, and Peter.

<sup>x</sup> This is omitted in some copies.

19. The Revelation ascribed to Paul the apostle is apocryphal.
20. The Revelation ascribed to Stephen is apocryphal.
21. The Travels, or Acts of St. Mary, are apocryphal.
22. The book called the Lots of the Apostles is apocryphal.
23. The book called The Praise of the Apostles is apocryphal.
24. The book of The Canon of the Apostles is apocryphal.
25. The Letters of Jesus to king Abgarus is apocryphal.

I may perhaps have occasion hereafter more critically to inquire into the genuine authority of this Decree of Gelasius; I shall now only observe, that it is generally agreed to be very ancient, and by most learned men, to have been formed in the council of Rome, A. C. 494. Those who have examined the manuscripts tell us, that in some of them it is ascribed to Damasus, who lived in the century before Gelasius, and in others to Hormisdas, who lived the century after: whence Baluzius seems rightly to conjecture, that pope Damasus began the Decree, Gelasius renewed and made some additions to it, and Hormisdas afterwards further enlarged and confirmed it<sup>γ</sup>. It is true, bishop Pearson, in his celebrated Vindication of Ignatius's Epistles, attempts to prove, from this variety of titles, that the Decree is spurious, as also by other arguments<sup>z</sup>, which are approved by Dr. Cavé, and translated into his excellent work<sup>a</sup>. But it is not at all strange these learned men should reject this Decree, when we consider it as directly opposite to some notions, which they would have been much more unwilling to part with than this Decree.

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## CHAP. VII.

*The Gospel of Apelles: his age and principles. The Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles: it was the same with the Gospel of the Hebrews.*

### No. IV. *The Gospel of Apelles.*

THIS Gospel is not mentioned by any writer till Jerome,

<sup>γ</sup> See Spanheim Hist. Christ. Secul. V. c. 8. juxta fin. and Dallæus de Pseudig. Apostol. l. 3. c. 3, 4, &c.

<sup>z</sup> Vindic. Ignat. par. i. c. 4. p. 44, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Histor. Liter. in Gelas.



who places it among several other apocryphal pieces of the New Testament, whose words, because I shall frequently refer to them, I shall here transcribe at length<sup>b</sup>.

Plures fuisse, qui evangelia scripserunt, Lucas evangelista testatur, dicens, *quoniam quidem multi*, &c. quæ a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæresium fuere principia, ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, et Bartholomæum, duodecim quoque apostolorum, et Basilidis atque Apellis, ac reliquorum, quæ enumerare longissimum est: cum hæc tantum impræsentiarum necesse sit dicere, extitisse quosdam, qui, sine spiritu et gratia Dei, conati sunt magis ordinare narrationem, quam historiæ texere veritatem.

The evangelist Luke declares, that there were many who wrote gospels, when he says, *Forasmuch as many*, &c. (c. i. ver. 1.) which being published by various authors, gave birth to several heresies; such as that according to the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, that of the twelve Apostles, and Basilides, and Apelles, and others, which it would be tedious to enumerate: in relation to these, it will be enough at present to say, that there have been certain men, who endeavoured, without the Spirit and grace of God, rather to set forth some sort of account, than to publish a true history.

This Gospel is considerable, as it appears to have been received by some Christians who were the disciples of its author in the latter end of the second century. Mr. Fabritius supposes, that Apelles did not write any new distinct Gospel, but only formed one out of the true and genuine Gospels, that, as Marcion, he might be thought the author of a new Gospel: but however true this supposition may be, it is not worthy of any great note, because it is most certain, that most of the Gospels which the heretics made use of were formed out of the true and genuine Gospels, with the addition and omission of what they thought proper. However, it is evident, it was an apocryphal piece, by Prop. IV, V, VI. and inasmuch as Jerome tells us, it was calculated to promote the heresy of its author, it must necessarily be supposed to have contained assertions contrary to those certainly known to be true, and therefore to be rejected by Prop. VIII. To confirm which

<sup>b</sup> Præfat. in Comm. in Matth.

observation, I shall here give the reader some short account of Apelles and his doctrines.

He was a disciple of the famous heretic Marcion, and became famous about the year of Christ 180. He wrote many impious tracts against the sacred scriptures, rejected both the law and the prophets, maintained there was one principle of all things, who was the good God, from whom proceeded the evil god, who made all things. He denied the resurrection of the dead, and published a collection of revelations, which he received from a noted strumpet, whose name was Philumene, of which both Tertullian and Eusebius give us an account<sup>c</sup>, as do Origen<sup>d</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>e</sup>, and Austin of the other particulars<sup>f</sup>.

Nº. V. *The Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles.*

CONCERNING this apocryphal piece, unquestionably very ancient, we have an account given us ;

1. By Origen<sup>g</sup>.

*Ecclesia quatuor habet Evangelia, hæreses plurima ; e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Ægyptios, aliud juxta duodecim Apostolos—Legimus, ne quid ignorare videremur, &c.*

The church receives four Gospels, the heretics have very many ; such as that according to the Egyptians, that according to the twelve Apostles — These we read, lest we should be thought ignorant.

2. By Ambrose<sup>h</sup>.

*Multi Evangelia scribere conati, quæ boni nummularii non probaverunt. Unum autem tantummodo in quatuor libros digestum ex omnibus arbitrati sunt eligendum ; et aliud quidem fertur, quod duodecim scripsisse dicuntur. Ausus est etiam Basilides scribere quod dicitur secundum Basilidem — Legimus, ne legantur ; legimus, ne ignoremus ;*

Many have endeavoured to write Gospels, which the catholic church hath not approved, but hath determined to make choice of four only. There is indeed a Gospel spread up and down, said to be written by the twelve Apostles. Basilides wrote another called by his name—These we read, that they may not be read ; we read them, that we may not

<sup>c</sup> De Præscript. advers. Hæretic. c. 30.—Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Homil. 2. in Gen. vi.

<sup>e</sup> Hæres. 44.

<sup>f</sup> De Hæres. ad Quodvult d. Nº. 23.

in Apell. See also Dr. Cave's Hist. Liter. and Spanheim Hist. Christ. Secul. II. c. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Homil. in Luc. i. 1. in init.

<sup>h</sup> Comment. in Luc. in init.

legimus, non ut teneamus, sed repudiemus, et ut sciamus qualia sint in quibus magnifici isti cor exultent suum.

seem ignorant; we read them, not that we receive, but reject them, and may know what those things are, of which the heretics make such boasting.

3. By Jerome, in the passage just now produced<sup>i</sup>. He reckons the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles among those which occasioned heresies in the church, and which were wrote by men destitute of the Spirit and grace of God, without a due regard to truth.
4. By the same, in his Dialogues against the Pelagians<sup>k</sup>, introducing Atticus disputing against the opinion, That the baptized could not fall into sin, and at length citing this Gospel to that purpose, in the following words:

In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quod in Cæsariensi bibliotheca habetur; narrat historia, &c.

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in the Chaldee and Syriac language, but in Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes to this day use [and is called the Gospel] according to the [twelve] Apostles, or, as most think, according to Matthew, and which is in the library of Cæsarea; there is the following history, &c.

I omit here producing the fragments of this Gospel, and making any critical remarks upon it, because I shall have a more convenient place of doing this, when I come to discourse concerning the Gospel according to the Nazarenes, which appears very evidently, by this passage of Jerome, to have been the very same with this Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles.

<sup>i</sup> See above, No. IV.

<sup>k</sup> Lib. 3. Epist. 17. in init.

## CHAP. VIII.

*An account of the Gospel of Barnabas, mentioned by pope Gelasius. Two supposed Fragments. Large Fragments of an Italian Gospel under the name of Barnabas, now in the possession of prince Eugene. It appears evidently a late Mahometan imposture.*

## B.

N<sup>o</sup>. VI. *The Gospel of Barnabas.*

THIS book does not appear to have fallen within the cognizance of any of the Christian writers of the first four centuries; only it is thus mentioned in the famous Decree of pope Gelasius I. above produced, N<sup>o</sup>. III. The Gospel under the name of Barnabas is apocryphal. There are not, I believe, any fragments of it extant, at least not within my time, unless that be supposed to be one, which we find in Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>1</sup>, who having cited these words of the psalmist, (Psalm cxviii. 19, 20.) *Open to me the gates of righteousness, and I will go into them, and I will praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter:* he adds, “Barnabas expounding this saying of the prophet, thus “reasons:

Πολλῶν πυλῶν ἀνεωγυῖων, ἡ δὲ καιοσύνη αὐτῇ ἐστίν, ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾗ μακάριοι πάντες οἱ εἰσελθόντες.

Although there are many gates opened, righteousness is that gate, which is in Christ, at which all they that enter shall be blessed.

This passage, attributed by Clemens Alexandrinus to Barnabas, is indeed in the first Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, §. 48. and therefore Dr. Grabe<sup>m</sup> supposes, that Clemens Alexandrinus was mistaken in citing it out of Barnabas, because it is not in the Epistle which goes under his name; which is indeed probable enough, not only because the passage is exactly the same in Clement's Epistle, but because it does not appear that any Gospel under the name of Barnabas was known in the world, either in the time of Clemens Alexandrinus, or a long time afterwards.

The learned Dr. Grabe, out of an ancient manuscript, has indeed produced a saying attributed there to Barnabas, which

<sup>1</sup> Stromat. l. 6. p. 646.

<sup>m</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. i. p. 303.

he supposes to have been taken out of the Gospel of Barnabas, mentioned by pope Gelasius<sup>n</sup>. The fragment is this, as he has given it us out of the thirty-ninth Baroccian manuscript in the Bodleian :

<p>Βαρνάβας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔφη, Ἐν ἀμίλλαις πονηραῖς ἀθλιώτερος ὁ νικῆσας, διότι ἐπέρχεται πλέον ἔχων τῆς ἀμαρτίας.</p>	<p>Barnabas the apostle saith, He who prevails in unlawful contests, is so much the more unhappy, because he goes away having more sin.</p>
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Whether or no this passage is really a fragment of the ancient apocryphal Gospel under the name of Barnabas, seems to me very uncertain. The author of the manuscript (which is a common-place book made after the modern alphabetical manner) does not mention the name of any Gospel from whence he took it; nor has the doctor, who produces it, given any reasons to support his conjecture, and therefore we may as fairly conclude it to have been taken from the Epistle under the name of Barnabas, as from the Gospel; and though it be not now to be found in any part of that Epistle, yet I cannot see why it may not be supposed to have been in that part of it which is lost, since it is certain we have it now not complete<sup>o</sup>: and I am the rather apt to imagine this, because we cannot discover any intimations or citations of this Gospel in the ancient writers, whereas the Epistle was well known, and frequently referred to.

I can scarce tell, whether it be worth while to observe, that Mr. Toland, in his late trifling book, which he calls Nazarenus, finding it very much to his purpose, endeavours to confirm the aforesaid conjecture of Dr. Grabe<sup>p</sup>. He tells us, that in an Italian manuscript, which he saw in Holland, and which is now in the library of prince Eugene, entitled, The true Gospel of Jesus, called Christ, a new Prophet sent by God to the world, according to the relation of Barnabas the Apostle. In this, I say, he tells us, he found the passage (just above produced out of the Baroccian manuscript) almost in terms, and the sense evidently there in more than one place. It is not my business to make here any remarks concerning this pre-

<sup>n</sup> Spicleg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 302, 303.

<sup>p</sup> See Dr. Mangey's Remarks on Mr.

Toland's Nazarenus, c. 4. p. 22.

<sup>p</sup> Nazaren. c. 2. p. 8. and c. 7. p. 20.

tended Gospel of Barnabas; it is enough to observe, that it is a very late and notorious Mahometan imposture, as appears sufficiently by the scraps of it which Mr. Toland has produced, and more fully by the large citations out of it, which are given us by La Monnoy<sup>q</sup>, who had by baron Hohendorf, prince Eugene's adjutant-general, the sight of the manuscript; and as he seems to have given a more just and full account of it than Mr. Toland, so I verily believe he had more opportunity to do it<sup>r</sup>. It is probable the curiosity of some readers may be such, as to desire these fragments in our language, for whose sake, though it be a digression from my proposed method, I shall insert them here, as I find them in either of the forementioned authors.

The title is, as above,

"The true Gospel of Jesus, called Christ, a new Prophet sent  
"by God to the world, according to the relation of Barnabas  
"the apostle<sup>s</sup>."

The first words of the book are these:

"Barnabas, an apostle of Jesus of Nazareth, called Christ,  
"to all those who dwell upon the earth, wisheth peace and  
"consolation<sup>t</sup>.

"He declares he was commanded to write this Gospel;  
"represents himself as one of the apostles, very familiar with  
"Jesus Christ and the Virgin, better instructed than Paul  
"concerning the design of circumcision, and the usage of  
"meats, either allowed or forbid to the faithful.

"He asserts, the infernal torments of the Mahometans shall  
"not be everlasting.

"Jesus Christ is never called any more than a prophet<sup>u</sup>.

"It informs us, that the very moment the Jews were pre-  
"paring to go and take Christ in the garden of Olives, he was  
"taken up into the third heavens, by the ministry of the four

<sup>q</sup> Animadvers. ad Menagian. apud Fabrit. tom. 3. p. 373.

<sup>r</sup> For I much question whether Mr. Toland had, or made much use of the MS. otherwise he need not have been obliged to have translated La Monnoy, as he does in his Appendix.

<sup>s</sup> Nazaren. p. 15.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Barnabé, qui se dit chargé de

l'écrire, y passe pour un apôtre familier avec Jesus Christ, et avec la Vierge, mieux instruit que Paul du mérite de la circoncision, et de l'usage des viandes accordées ou défendues aux fideles. On y voit, que les peines infernales des Mahometans ne seront pas éternelles. Jesus Christ n'y est appelé simplement que prophète. La Monnoy loc. cit. p. 376, 377.

“angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel; that he should  
 “not die until the end of the world, and that it was Judas  
 “who was crucified instead of him, God permitting that this  
 “traitor should appear to the eyes of the Jews so very like to  
 “Jesus Christ, that they apprehended him instead of him, and  
 “as such delivered him to Pilate; that the resemblance be-  
 “tween them was so great, that the Virgin Mary and the  
 “apostles were even deceived, but that afterwards Jesus  
 “Christ had obtained of God permission to come and comfort  
 “them x.”

What passed after this, we shall find in the following fragment, for which we are also obliged to Mr. La Monnoy, as well as the former.

*A large Fragment of the Gospel of Barnabas y.*

“The Virgin returned to Jerusalem together with the  
 “author [Barnabas], James and John, upon the same day in  
 “which the decree of the high priest came forth. The Virgin,  
 “who feared God, although she knew the injustice of the high  
 “priest’s decree, gave a charge to all her particular acquaint-  
 “ance [or family], that they would forget her son. But God,  
 “who is acquainted with the temper of all men’s minds, knew  
 “how we and the mother of Jesus were very miserably dis-  
 “tressed between sorrow for the death of Judas, (whom we  
 “believed to have been Jesus our master,) and expectations of  
 “seeing him risen again from the dead. The guardian angels  
 “therefore of the Virgin Mary ascended into the third hea-  
 “ven, where Jesus was in the society of angels, and related to  
 “him all the affair. Hereupon Jesus entreated God, that he  
 “would permit him to go and see his mother and his disciples.  
 “Then God, being merciful, commanded four of his most be-  
 “loved angels, viz. Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, that  
 “they should carry Jesus to his mother’s house, and there be  
 “his guard for three successive days, and suffer no persons to  
 “see him, who did not believe his doctrine. So Jesus, en-  
 “circled with glory, came into the parlour, wherein were

x La Monnoy loc. cit. p. 376, 377.

y Not understanding thoroughly the Italian itself, I am obliged in this Eng-

lish translation to follow and depend upon the Latin one of Mr. Fabritius.

“ Mary the virgin, with her two sisters, Martha, with Mary,  
“ Magdalen, Lazarus, with the author [Barnabas], and John,  
“ with James and Peter ; who, when they saw him, fell down  
“ on the ground almost dead with the surprise. Whereupon  
“ Jesus, lifting up his mother and the rest of them from the  
“ ground, said, ‘ Fear not, for I am Jesus ; mourn not, for I  
“ am alive, and not dead.’ But still they all stood perfectly  
“ astonished at the sight of Jesus, whom they really believed  
“ to have been dead. At length the Virgin very mournfully  
“ addressed herself to him, and said, ‘ I beseech you, my son,  
“ how came it to pass, that since God had given you power of  
“ raising up the dead to life, he should permit you to be so  
“ betrayed to death, to the disgrace of your relations and  
“ friends, as well as the reproach of your doctrine, inasmuch  
“ as all that had any kindness for you were astonished even  
“ almost unto death?’ Then Jesus embracing his mother,  
“ said, ‘ Believe me, my mother, for I positively affirm that I  
“ was never dead, for God has reserved me even to the end of  
“ the world.’ When he had thus said, he desired the four an-  
“ gels that they would shew themselves, and testify how the  
“ whole affair was managed. The angels then appeared like  
“ four suns in their greatest brightness, whereupon they all  
“ fell down again upon the ground at the surprise, as persons  
“ that were dead. Then Jesus gave them four linen cloths,  
“ that being covered with them, his mother and the rest of the  
“ company might be able to bear the sight of them, and hear  
“ them speak. Lifting them then all from the ground, he en-  
“ couraged them, and said, ‘ These are the ministers of God,  
“ Gabriel, who carries and delivers the secret messages of  
“ God ; Michael, who battles against the enemies of God ;  
“ Raphael, who takes charge of the souls of them who die ;  
“ Uriel, who on the last day shall gather all to judgment.’  
“ Then the angels declared to the Virgin, (that which God  
“ had commanded them by Jesus,) how that Judas was trans-  
“ formed [into the likeness of Jesus], that so himself might suf-  
“ fer the punishment, which he designed to have brought upon  
“ another. Hereupon the author [Barnabas] spake, and said,  
“ ‘ Master, may I have the same liberty of proposing a ques-  
“ tion to you now, which I heretofore had when you conversed



“with us?” Jesus answered, ‘Barnabas, propose what questions you have a mind, and I will reply to them.’ The author [Barnabas] then said, ‘O my master, since God is merciful, why would he so torment us, and make us to believe you were really dead, and your mother to grieve almost to death? And as to yourself, who are the holy one of God, why would God permit you to be brought under such disgrace, as though you had been executed with felons in mount Calvary?’ Jesus answered, ‘Oh, Barnabas, believe me, every sin, though it be a small one, is very severely punished by God, to whom it is offensive. Inasmuch therefore as my mother and my faithful disciples loved me with some mixture of earthly love, the righteous God was pleased now to punish them for that love, that they might not hereafter suffer for it in the flames of hell. And as for my part, although I lived a very blameless life in the world, yet since men called me God, and the son of God, it pleased God, in order to prevent my being mocked by devils in the judgment day, that I should suffer disgrace in this world by the death of Judas, all men being persuaded that I really died on the cross. Wherefore this reproach shall last till the coming of Mahomet, who, when he shall come into the world, will deliver all those who believe the law of God from this error.’”

In another part of this Gospel, Mahomet is expressly named for the Paraclete or Comforter promised to come, John xiv. 16, 26. and xvi. 7. and in several places foretold as the designed accomplisher of God's economy towards men. It is, in short, says Mr. Toland<sup>z</sup>, the ancient Ebionite or Nazarene system, “as to the making Jesus a mere man, (though not with them the son of Joseph, but divinely conceived by the Virgin Mary,) and agrees in every thing almost with the scheme of our modern Unitarians, excepting the history of his death and resurrection, about which a very different account is given from that in our Gospels, but perfectly conformable to the tradition of the Mahometans, who maintain that another was crucified in his stead, and that Jesus slipping through the hands of the Jews, preached afterwards to his disciples, and then was taken into heaven.”

<sup>z</sup> Nazaren. p. 16.

The last words of this Gospel are <sup>a</sup>,

“Jesus being gone [into heaven], the disciples scattered themselves into many parts of Israel, and of the rest of the world, and the truth being hated of Satan was persecuted by falsehood, as it ever happens. For certain wicked men, under pretence of being disciples, preached that Jesus was dead, and not risen again; others preached, that Jesus was truly dead, and risen again; others preached, and still continue to preach, that Jesus is the Son of God, among which persons Paul has been deceived. We therefore, according to the measure of our knowledge, do preach to those who fear God, to the end they may be saved at the last day of his divine judgment. Amen. The end of the Gospel.”

I believe every impartial reader, upon a bare view of these fragments, will be soon persuaded to conclude this some late Mahometan forgery, and therefore could not be the Gospel under Barnabas's name which is rejected by pope Gelasius; nor need I make any further remarks upon it, or Mr. Toland's unfair conclusions from it. This is very well done by Dr. Mangey; one thing only falls in my way, because it relates to the passage which is above produced out of the Baroccian manuscript. Mr. Toland affirms, “he found it almost in terms in this Mahometan Gospel of prince Eugene; and the sense there in more places than one, which,” as he says, “made him believe this to be the same with the Gospel anciently attributed to Barnabas, though interpolated.” A strange inference indeed! Because these words are in a Gospel evidently the composure of some late Mahometan, under the name of Barnabas, therefore this Gospel must be as old as Gelasius's time at least; i. e. a hundred and fifty years, or more, before the Mahometan religion was known in the world. But, for my part, I cannot but declare my suspicion, that there is no such passage as this in the Italian Gospel; for, had it really been, Mr. Toland would not have omitted that which he thought so much to his purpose; and therefore considering that writer's frequent unfairness in all his writings, and his numerous attempts to impose upon his readers, where he thinks he can safely do it; I do not at all wonder, that Dr. Mangey

<sup>a</sup> Nazaren. p. 22.

does with the utmost assurance affirm, that his omitting this passage is a strong presumption that it was not in his copy, and that he has not given so good proofs of his ingenuity or skill in this matter, as to be believed upon his own bare assertion. Mr. Toland cannot think it hard, that any one should believe this charge of the doctor against him; because in his Answer he has not said one word to justify himself in this matter, nor to clear his reputation, attacked so severely, and in so tender and valuable a part.

## CHAP. IX.

*A conjecture concerning the true original of the Gospel of Barnabas, from a history in the fifth century.*

HAVING in the preceding chapter given some account of the Gospel of Barnabas, I shall close it with a conjecture concerning its true original, which I found upon a known history in the fifth century related by Theodorus Lector<sup>b</sup>, Nicephorus<sup>c</sup>, Suidas<sup>d</sup>, and others, to this purpose: "That in the reign of the emperor Zeno, the relicks of Barnabas the apostle and companion of Paul were found in Cyprus under a tree called *ceratia*<sup>e</sup>, and upon the breast the Gospel of Matthew, wrote with Barnabas's own hand, on account of which the inhabitants of Cyprus prevailed in their contest with the bishop of Antioch, that their own metropolis should have an independent bishop, not subject to the jurisdiction of Antioch. The book was carried to the emperor, and very highly esteemed by him, and put under a crown in his palace." Now, I say, whether this is a true relation of fact, or otherwise, it seems clearly to intimate to us, what that Gospel was, which went under the name of Barnabas in the time of pope Gelasius, viz. that it was no other than some interpolated corrupted Gospel of St. Matthew.

If the fact was true, nothing can be more reasonably supposed, than that this book should afterwards be called the Gospel of Barnabas; because,

1. The book is said to be written with Barnabas's own hand.

<sup>b</sup> Collectan. l. 2. in ipso init.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 16. c. 37.

<sup>d</sup> In voc. *Θύρα*.

<sup>e</sup> I know not how to translate the Greek *κεράτια*, and therefore have put the original name.

2. It perhaps was a translation of St. Matthew, made by Barnabas into Latin, or the peculiar dialect of Cyprus. The history informs us, that it was laid up in the emperor's palace, and something read out of it at certain seasons of the year <sup>f</sup>.

3. By virtue of this book, which received its virtue from Barnabas, the Cyprians carried their point against the claim of the bishop of Antioch for superintendency. All which laid together seems to intimate very plainly, that this book would afterwards be called by the name of Barnabas, which was really St. Matthew's Gospel.

Nor does the case alter, if we suppose this a fiction of the priests of Cyprus; for if the book really was a forgery, all the same things are supposed, and though they really did not find the relicks of Barnabas, yet some book they certainly produced, and then all that was said in the former case may as well be said here, and the same reasons be assigned, why this Gospel of St. Matthew, pretended to be found upon the breast of Barnabas, should go under the name of Barnabas, as if it had been really found there.

That which confirms me in the preceding conjecture is, that we have no mention at all of any such Gospel before this time; but immediately after, pope Gelasius mentions and condemns it <sup>g</sup>.

Since the first writing of this chapter, I have the pleasure to observe, Dr. Mangey has a conjecture very near the same with this of mine <sup>h</sup>. But I think his opinion lies under this difficulty, that it supposes the book pretended to be found on Barnabas's breast, to be really St. Matthew's Gospel, (for some book there must be produced,) and yet the very same which was afterwards condemned in the council at Rome by the decree attributed to Gelasius, under the name of Barnabas, as apocryphal. But to say no more of this Gospel; whatever it was, it is certain it never was a canonical book, by Prop. IV, V, VI.

<sup>f</sup> I regard not Sigebertus's single story, that the book was Hebrew.

<sup>g</sup> The emperor Zeno reigned (including his exile) from the year of Christ 474, to the year 491. Gelasius's

Decree is commonly dated in the year 494.

<sup>h</sup> Remarks on Nazaren. c. 3. p. 14, 15.

## CHAP. X.

*A book under the name of Bartholomew, mentioned by the supposed Dionysius the Areopagite, proved spurious. The Gospel of Bartholomew: it seems to have been the same which was found by Pantænus in the Indies in the second century, and no other than the Gospel of the Nazarenes.*

No. VII. *A book attributed to Bartholomew the apostle.*

THAT there was formerly such a book, I gather from that ancient book which goes under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, who is in sacred history related to have been one of St. Paul's converts at Athens<sup>i</sup>. The passage I refer to is that in the beginning of his first book of Mystical Divinity<sup>j</sup>.

Ὅτῳ γοῦν ὁ θεὸς Βαρθολομαῖός φησι, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐλαχίστην, καὶ τὸ εὐ-αγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα, καὶ αὐτὸς συντετμημένον. The divine Bartholomew hath spoken to this purpose; viz. That divinity is both copious and concise; that the gospel is both broad and large, and also short.

It may perhaps be imagined by some, as the old Greek scholiast of Dionysius thought, that this was not a citation out of any book of Bartholomew, but only a sentence of his preserved by tradition: but this seems very improbable, because the author of the books, which are now extant under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, lived at so great a distance from the apostles' time. The learned Daillé has largely<sup>k</sup> demonstrated the spuriousness of the book, even to the satisfaction of his great adversary bishop Pearson<sup>l</sup>, and, I think, of all learned men; though that prelate disapproves of Monsieur Daillé's making the writer so very late as the year 520, and has made it evident that he wrote about the same time as Eusebius; and therefore this passage becomes considerable here, falling within the fourth century. But whichever of these periods we affix to this pretended Dionysius, it is hardly probable such a passage should be preserved in memory so long; and therefore either this author forged this sentence out of his own brain, which he ascribed to Bartholomew, and found it in

<sup>i</sup> Acts xvii. 34.

<sup>j</sup> De Mystic. Theol. l. i. c. i.

<sup>k</sup> De Pseudepig. Dionys. Areopag.

lib. i.

<sup>l</sup> Vindic. Ignat. Epistol. par. i. cap. 10. in init.

no book, which Mr. Daillé supposes<sup>m</sup>, or else he took it out of some piece, said to be the writing of that apostle. Sixtus Senensis<sup>n</sup>, Dr. Grabe<sup>o</sup>, and some others, suppose it to be taken out of the book entitled *The Gospel of Bartholomew*, concerning which opinion I am not able to determine; nor indeed is it of any great account, whence the author of so gross a forgery made his citations: I shall only observe, that the language of the fragment is no way like the language of the apostolic age; for instance, the word *θεολογία* (*theology*) was in that early time unknown, and did not, till of a long time after, come in use in the church, and as the word *θεολόγος* being constantly used in this book under the name of Dionysius, does sufficiently demonstrate it to be a forgery of times much later than those of the *true Dionysius of Athens*<sup>p</sup>; so *à fortiori* does the word *θεολογία* prove this writing under the name of Bartholomew to be much later than the time wherein the true Bartholomew lived. It is therefore to be judged apocryphal by Prop. X, XII. as well as by Prop. IV, V, VI.

#### Nº. VIII. *The Gospel of Bartholomew.*

This is mentioned,

1. By Jerome<sup>q</sup>: “Many have endeavoured,” says he, “without the grace and Spirit of God, to set forth Gospels, among which is that under the name of Bartholomew.”

2. By pope Gelasius<sup>r</sup>: “The Gospel under the name of Bartholomew the apostle is apocryphal.” There is not any other express mention, that I know, of this book; so that it is evidently to be reckoned among the apocryphal ones, by Prop. IV, V, VI.

There are not any fragments extant of this book, unless, as I am inclined to think, it was the very same with the Gospel of St. Matthew, which the Hebrews or Nazarenes made use of. The reason of my conjecture is, the account we have both from Eusebius<sup>s</sup> and Jerome<sup>t</sup>, viz. “That Pantænus, being sent by Demetrius bishop of Alexandria to preach the Gospel to

<sup>m</sup> Lib. cit. c. 27. in init.

<sup>n</sup> Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. p. 42.

<sup>o</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. I. p. 128.

<sup>p</sup> Dr. Grabe, *ibid.*

<sup>q</sup> Præfat. in Comm. in Matth. See

the passage at large above, Nº. IV.

<sup>r</sup> In his Decree; see it at large above, Nº. III.

<sup>s</sup> Histor. Eccles. l. 5. c. 10.

<sup>t</sup> Catalog. Vir. Illustr. in Pantæn.

“the Indians, at the request of their ambassadors, when he came among them, found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, had preached the gospel among them before, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew, which he left there in Hebrew characters;” “and,” as Jerome adds, “brought it back with him to Alexandria.” Now this, I say, seems to me to have been the book afterwards called The Gospel of Bartholomew, only that it had suffered many interpolations and additions. For it cannot be thought improbable, that those who heard St. Bartholomew preach over and explain this Gospel to them, should, after his departure, rather call it by his name, whom they knew, than the name of Matthew, whom they knew not. Besides, if we may credit Nicephorus<sup>u</sup>, he assures us, “that Bartholomew dictated the Gospel of Matthew to them out of his memory, and did not bring it along with him;” and, if so, it is very improbable they should call it by any other name besides his.

Nor is there room to object, that it cannot be supposed this book should be among the Indians without any title: for,

1. If Nicephorus’s relation be true, *there would be no necessity of a title*; his dictating it to them was sufficient to entitle it. But,

2. If we say he brought it with him to the Indies, *it is not at all strange it should be left without a title*. Bartholomew himself knew who the author was, and so perhaps did not write any. But I need not fly to any conjectures in the matter; I dare assert, and undertake to prove, that the present titles of our four Gospels, as well as many other ancient books, were not prefixed to them by their authors<sup>x</sup>. As to the titles of the Gospels, all I offer at present is, the exact likeness or uniformity of their titles, the difference that is between the Greek and Latin copies in this respect, and the difference of the old Syriac version from both.

Hence it seems probable, this Gospel of Bartholomew was that of Matthew, which he left, and Pantænus found in the Indies: I add, it received many interpolations and additions, some few perhaps by Bartholomew himself, (by way of com-

<sup>u</sup> Histor. Eccl. l. 4. c. 32.

<sup>x</sup> He who has a mind may see this

proved by father Simon, Crit. History of the New Test. chap. 2.

mentary or illustrating notes, which afterwards crept into the text,) but more, and of a different sort, by others; otherwise Jerome and Gelasius would not have condemned it as apocryphal. And, if I may be allowed to guess, I would offer it as probable, that when Pantæus brought it to Alexandria, it had at length inserted into it the interpolations of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which the Judaizing Christians there made use of. Two things make this conjecture more probable, viz.

1. *Because it was in Hebrew characters*, and so of course falling into the hands of the Jewish converts, it cannot be thought but they would endeavour to make it as like their own Hebrew copy of St. Matthew as they could, otherwise their own must have been censured as a spurious and apocryphal piece.

2. *Because the Nazarene Gospel (or the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew) seems at this time to have been more in use at Alexandria, than any other part of the world.* It is well known what number of Jews, or Judaizing Christians, inhabited that city; and that these used this Hebrew Gospel is evident, because it was known to Clemens Alexandrinus, the scholar of the above-mentioned Pantæus, and Origen, the scholar of Clemens, who both dwelt at Alexandria; besides whom, it does not appear that any Christian writer (except Hegesippus) knew any thing of this Gospel, till Jerome. This I offer as a probable conjecture concerning this book. I know but one thing can be objected, and that is, *how Jerome, who saw and read the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, could speak of this Gospel of Bartholomew as distinct from it, which he certainly does.* To which I think it will be enough to answer, that it is very probable Jerome had never seen any Gospel under Bartholomew's name, but only rejects it, as what he knew was commonly esteemed a spurious piece.

I have only here to add, that if the foregoing account be just, Monsieur Daillé<sup>z</sup> is very much mistaken in supposing that the Gospel of Bartholomew was forged but a very little time before Gelasius. Nor is his reason true which he offers,

<sup>y</sup> Dr. Grabe proposes this conjecture in part, *Spicil. Patr.* tom. 1. p. 128.

<sup>z</sup> De Pseudepig. Dion. Areopag. c. 27.



viz. "Because it is neither mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome, "nor any of the ancient writers;" for that it was long before mentioned by Jerome in the place above cited, every one may perceive.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Gospel of Basilides: his age and tenets: his twenty-four books upon the Gospel.*

Nº. IX. *The Gospel of Basilides.*

CONCERNING this Gospel we have very little account in any Christian histories; it is only just named among the apocryphal books of the New Testament:

1. By Origen<sup>a</sup>: "The church hath but four Gospels, the "heretics many—Basilides was so impudent as to write a "Gospel, and prefix his own name to it."

2. By Ambrose<sup>b</sup>: "Many have attempted to write Gospels, "which the orthodox do not approve—Basilides had the im- "pudence to write one, which is called The Gospel according "to Basilides."

3. By Jerome<sup>c</sup>: "Many have endeavoured without the "grace and Spirit of God to publish Gospels, among which is "that of Basilides," &c.

There are not now any fragments of this Gospel any where extant, nor am I able to make any conjecture concerning it; besides that it was calculated to promote the heterodox sentiments of its author; of which it may not be foreign to my purpose to give the following account.

He was one of the first noted heretics of the Christian church, and lived very near the apostles' times, though the precise time of his age has been much disputed by bishop Pearson<sup>d</sup> against Daillé<sup>e</sup>. He was the scholar of Menander, and one of the main authors of the known sect of the Gnostics, à quo Gnos-

<sup>a</sup> Ecclesia quatuor habet Evangelia, hæreses plurima—Ausus est Basilides scribere Evangelium, et suo illud nomine titolare. Homil. in Luc. i. 1. in init.

<sup>b</sup> See the passage at length above,

Nº. V. in Luc. i.

<sup>c</sup> Præfat. in Comment. in Matth. produced at large above, Nº. IV.

<sup>d</sup> Vindic. Ignat. Epist. par. 2. c. 7.

<sup>e</sup> De Pseudepig. Dion. et Ignat. l. 2. c. 10.

tici, says Eusebius in his Chronicon<sup>b</sup>. His principal tenets were,

*That there was only one being or creature made by God; this being formed the next, and that another, and so on, in a ridiculous series of gods or angels proceeding from each other, to the number of 365, each of which created a heaven to answer to the number of the days of the year, over which he presided. That the angel who presided in that heaven which is nearest to us, made this earth and its inhabitants; that the angel, or god of the Jews was more obstinate than the rest, and endeavoured to make that people superior to all other; at which the angels of other nations being provoked, incited their respective countries to wage war with the Jews; that the unbegotten Father sent his Son, in the shape of a man, to prevent the Jewish tyranny; that he was not really flesh, or a man, but only appeared to be so; that he did not himself suffer on the cross, but Simon the Cyrenian in his stead. He denied the resurrection, allowed of the Pythagorean transmigration of souls, of sodomy, and all sorts of uncleanness, &c. He that would read more of this sort may consult Irenæus<sup>c</sup>, Tertullian<sup>d</sup>, Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>e</sup>, Eusebius<sup>f</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>g</sup>, Jerome<sup>h</sup>, and Austini, among the ancients; Mr. Spanheim (who has obliged the world with a specimen of their images and magical hieroglyphics, neatly engraved on copper plates<sup>k</sup>) and Dr. Grabe among the moderns<sup>l</sup>.*

I have been the more large in reciting the tenets of Basilides, because it may perhaps be not absurd to suppose them as so many fragments of his Gospel. Eusebius<sup>m</sup> tells us of an excellent piece wrote by Agrippa Castor, wherein he confuted all the subtle principles of this impious heretic, and mentions his *having wrote twenty-four books upon the Gospel*; but whether he means upon either or all the Gospels which

<sup>b</sup> Ad ann. Christi 136.

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 23. &c. et l. 2.

c. 65.

<sup>d</sup> De Præscript. adv. Hæret. c. 46.

<sup>e</sup> In the third and fourth books of his Stromata, he is often refuted.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Hæres. 24.

<sup>h</sup> Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Agrippa Castor.

<sup>i</sup> De Hæres. ad Quodvultd. n. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Eccl. Hist. Secul. II. p. 638, 639.

<sup>l</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. 2. p. 35, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 7. *Εἰς μὲν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τίσσασα πρὸς τοῖς ἑσπέραις συντάξει βιβλία.*

we now have, or upon his own Gospel, is utterly uncertain. Valesius<sup>n</sup>, and after him Dr. Cave<sup>o</sup> and Dr. Grabe<sup>p</sup> suppose it to have been his own Gospel, and not any of ours, which is indeed much the more probable opinion; for it cannot be imagined that heresiarch would shew so great respect to ours. But perhaps neither of these opinions is true, but rather that the twenty-four books upon the Gospel, which Agrippa Castor speaks of, were the very Gospel of Basilides itself, which Origen and Jerome mention in the places above cited. There are indeed some considerable fragments of this work in Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>q</sup>, which because I cannot certainly prove to have been the Gospel of Basilides, I shall think it sufficient to refer the reader to, as they are collected by the learned writer last mentioned.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Gospel of Cerinthus; his age and principles. A story of St. John the apostle and him at Ephesus. That he is referred to Acts xv. His Gospel proved to be the very same with the Gospel of the Ebionites and Nazarenes.*

C.

No. X. *The Gospel of Cerinthus.*

THIS is mentioned only by Epiphanius under this name, though under other names by several of the first writers, as will appear hereafter. He mentions it upon the same occasion as many other of the Christian writers do the apocryphal books; viz. expounding the first words of St. Luke's Gospel<sup>r</sup>.

Φάσκων, ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπι-  
χείρησαν, ἵνα τινὰς μὲν ἐπιχειρη-  
τὰς δείξῃ, φημὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κή-  
ρινον, καὶ Μήρινον, καὶ ἄλλους.

Saying, *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand*, by which he would intimate, that there had been many undertakers of the like work, among which, I suppose, were Cerinthus, Merinthus, and others.

<sup>n</sup> Annot. in loc. Eus. jam citat. p. 62.

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Literar. p. 30.

<sup>p</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. 2. p. 37, 38.

<sup>q</sup> Strom. l. 4. p. 506, &c. There is also another fragment of it in the Dis-

putation of Archelaus and Manes published at Rome by Laurentius Alexander Zacagnius, library-keeper of the Vatican. See Grab. loc. cit.

<sup>r</sup> Anacretorum seu Alogorum, Hæres. 51. §. 7.

That which makes it worth while critically to inquire into this Gospel is, that it seems to follow from these words of Epiphanius, that he thought *it was composed before St. Luke wrote his*, and that the heretics, against whom he is in that chapter writing, maintained, that the *Gospel which is received as St. John's was written by this same Cerinthus*.

In order to introduce what I conjecture concerning this matter, I shall first premise some account of Cerinthus and his tenets. He appears to have been one of the first who troubled the Christian church with his heretical opinions; for, if we may credit Irenæus\*, “St. John wrote his Gospel with this particular view, that he might confute the errors which were spread abroad by Cerinthus;” and in another place† he tells us, “that there were some in being in his time who heard Polycarp, a companion of the said apostle, relate the following story, viz. ‘That when St. John was in a certain bath at Ephesus, and saw Cerinthus also in, he immediately leaped out of the bath, saying, Let us go away, lest the bath should fall down, in which is Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth.’” Epiphanius‡ adds, “That he made frequent opposition to the apostles themselves at Antioch, Cæsarea, and Jerusalem; that he was one of those condemned in the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. and referred to in the synodical letter to the church of Antioch, ver. 24. as one who had troubled them with words subverting their souls, &c. that he reproached St. Peter for going to Cornelius, a Gentile, and other uncircumcised persons, and St. Paul upon the very same account at Jerusalem.” His principal tenets were the same with the Carpocratians and Ebionites, a few of which, as far as they are serviceable to my design, I shall mention; viz. *He denied the divinity of our Saviour, asserting that Jesus was but a mere man, not born of a virgin, but of Mary, begotten by Joseph in the ordinary way of generation; that circumcision and the other rites of the Mosaic law were still in force and obligatory upon Christians*. This short account of this heretic and his principles does very plainly intimate, what we are to determine concerning the Gospel now under consideration, to which his

\* Adv. Hæres. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 257.

† Lib. 3. c. 3. Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.

‡ 4. c. 14.

§ Hæres. 28. Cerinth. §. 2; 3.

name was prefixed, viz. *that it was either entirely the same, or very little different from the Gospel of the Ebionites or Nazarenes, which was most certainly calculated to these sentiments, as will appear hereafter, and was no other than St. Matthew's Gospel translated into Hebrew, with diverse interpolations and corruptions.* This conjecture will appear probable to those who consider,

1. *That the Cerinthians and Ebionites agreed in almost all the same heretical principles, but chiefly in maintaining the continuing obligation of Moses's law, denying our Saviour's divinity, and asserting him to be a mere man.* This has been already hinted, and will undeniably appear by a bare casting of the eye upon the places of Epiphanius cited at the bottom of the page<sup>a</sup>.

2. Agreeable to these principles, *they both received only St. Matthew's Gospel, rejecting the other parts of scripture.* Concerning the Ebionites, we have the testimony of Irenæus<sup>y</sup>, but more large in Eusebius<sup>z</sup>: "They utterly reject all Paul's epistles, styling him an apostate from the law, and receive only that which is called The Gospel according to the Hebrews; i. e. that under St. Matthew's name<sup>a</sup>." As to the Cerinthians, we are told the same, more than once, by Epiphanius; so Hæres. 28. "They receive only the Gospel of Matthew," &c. and Hæres. 30. §. 14. he expressly tells us, (which puts the matter past all doubt,) that they received the same Gospel of Matthew as the Ebionites did, and that it was called The Gospel according to the Hebrews.

3. *The Gospel of St. Matthew, which Cerinthus and the Ebionites made use of, was in the very same respects altered and corrupted;* for instance, the genealogy of our Saviour, and some more in the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel, were left out in the copies of both these heretics. As to the Ebionites, it is expressly asserted by Epiphanius<sup>b</sup>, "In the Gospel which they use, and which they call by Matthew's name, and the Hebrew Gospel; which is not perfect, but adulterated and imperfect," &c. And as to the Cerinthians, no less evidently

<sup>a</sup> Compare Hæres. 28. and 30. together. See also Philastr. Hæres. 36. and August. de Hæres. N. 8.

<sup>y</sup> Adv. Hæres. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 258.

<sup>z</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Iren. loc. cit.

<sup>b</sup> Hæres. 30. §. 13.

in the place above cited<sup>c</sup>. “They use only the Gospel of “Matthew in part, but not the whole of it; for they have “taken away the genealogy of our Saviour according to the “flesh out of their Gospel:” which that the Ebionites did also, appears from what the same author says in another place<sup>d</sup>; having produced a passage out of the Gospel of the Ebionites according to Matthew, he adds, “Cerinthus and Carpocras “making use of the same Gospel of Matthew (as they call it) “with the Ebionites—who have erased out of their copies “the genealogy of Christ, and begin their Gospel at these “words, *And it came to pass in the days of Herod the king.*” (Matt. iii. 1.) The design of their agreement to omit the genealogy, and the first and second chapters, was, that their notion of Christ’s being a mere man might not be contradicted and confuted, which they certainly had been, if the account there given of the Virgin’s conception by the Holy Ghost were credited<sup>e</sup>.

Upon the whole then, it seems not unfair to conclude, that the Gospel of Cerinthus and his followers *was no other than the Ebionite or Nazarene Gospel*, i. e. the Gospel of St. Matthew corrupted and interpolated, in Hebrew. A further account of this Gospel, together with all its fragments, will be produced in its proper place, viz. under the title of The Gospel of the Nazarenes. I shall only add further here, that the ancient heretics, called the Alogi, ascribed the Gospel of John and the Revelations to Cerinthus, as the author of both; and upon that score rejected them as apocryphal<sup>f</sup>: but how absurd this opinion was, Epiphanius has well shewn; and I shall endeavour to prove hereafter, viz. as to the Gospel in the last part of this work, and as to the Revelation in the following chapter.

<sup>c</sup> Hæres. 28. §. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Hæres. 30. §. 14.

<sup>e</sup> It is to be observed, that though Epiphanius in the place last cited seems to intimate, that Cerinthus and Carpocras attempted to prove our Saviour to be a mere man from the genealogy, Matth. i. contrary to the Ebi-

onites who reject it, yet he cannot mean that those heretics owned the genealogy, but only argued upon the supposition of its being true: for if otherwise, he must contradict himself in the other places cited.

<sup>f</sup> Hæres. 51. §. 3.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Revelation of Cerinthus not the same with the Revelation of St. John, but compiled out of it; on which account the canonical Revelation was so long of doubtful authority.*

## No. XI. The Revelation of Cerinthus.

THIS apocryphal piece is only mentioned by Caius, or Gaius, a learned presbyter of Rome, in his disputation against Proclus. The fragment is preserved by Eusebius, out of whom I shall here transcribe it.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' Ἀποκαλύψεων, ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων, τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῶ δεδωγμένας ψευδόμενος, ἐπεισάγει λέγων, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολυτευομένην δουλεύειν. Καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς θέλων πλανᾶν λέγει γίνεσθαι. Vid. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 28.

Cerinthus in a book of Revelations written by him, as though he were some great apostle, falsely tells us of certain surprising discoveries, which were made to him by angels, which he thus introduces, saying, That after the resurrection Christ shall reign here on earth, and those who dwell at Jerusalem shall again serve (or be capable of) bodily lusts and pleasures. To which that enemy of the divine scriptures adds, the better to propagate his errors, that the space of a thousand years shall be spent in marriage-feasting.

Hence it is evident that Caius knew of some book under the title of The Revelation, which pretended to inspiration, as being dictated by angels, and wrote by Cerinthus, as some great apostle; for I think nothing more just than Valesius's translation of those words, ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων, *a se tanquam a magno apostolo conscriptas*, for otherwise it will not be possible to make any sense of the sentence. Dr. Grabe indeed imagines, that Caius ascribed the Revelation of St. John to Cerinthus in the forecited passage, and meant no other than that this canonical book was published by Cerinthus under the name of St. John. But the fragment which Caius produces does most evidently demonstrate the contrary,

because the contents of it, viz. *Christ's reigning on earth, the Jews then enjoying carnal lusts and pleasures, and spending a thousand years in nuptial merriments*, are no where found in the Revelation of St. John. It is true indeed, (as that learned antiquary observes,) Dionysius Alexandrinus<sup>b</sup> intimates, "that it was the opinion of some, that no apostle nor holy ecclesiastical writer wrote the Revelation called St. John's, but that Cerinthus forged it, and, the better to propagate his notions and gain credit to his fancies, prefixed the name of John to it." He might have added too, that the heretics called Alogi were of this opinion<sup>i</sup>: but all this will not prove what he contends for, that The Revelations of St. John and Cerinthus were the same book; for besides what has been already observed out of the fragment of Caius to prove them distinct, it is evident Dionysius Alexandrinus looked upon them as such too; for though he endeavours to prove (what I hope hereafter to confute) that the Revelation under the name of John the divine, or apostle, was not wrote by him, but some other John, yet he declares his belief of it as the work ἀγίου τινὸς καὶ θεοπνεύστου, of some holy and inspired writer; whereas he had a little before condemned the pretended Revelation of Cerinthus, and his doctrine which he calls heresy, and accordingly produces the following specimen of his Revelations, as well deserving to be exploded. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 25.

Τούτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσθθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ὠρέγτο, φιλοσώματος ὢν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὀνειροπολεῖν ἔσθθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τουτέστι σιτίοις, καὶ ποτοῖς, καὶ γάμοις, καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾗθη ποιεῖσθαι, ἐορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερῶν σφαγαῖς.

For this is the doctrine of Cerinthus, that Christ shall reign here on earth, when, as he extravagantly fancied, there should be an enjoyment of those lusts of the flesh, to which himself was excessively inclined and addicted, viz. abundant provisions for the belly and the parts—i. e. with meats and drinks, and marriages, for the better accomplishing of which designs there should be feasting, and banquetings, and killing of sacrifices.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 2. de Promiss. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 25. et l. 3. c. 28.

<sup>i</sup> Hæres. 51. §. 3.



Such a book was the Revelation of Cerinthus, sufficiently different from that under the name of St. John now in the canon, and undoubtedly to be esteemed apocryphal, by Prop. IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX.

If it should be yet urged, that *it is very strange*, that not only the Alogians, but others who lived before Dionysius of Alexandria, and consequently very near the time of St. John, *should ascribe his Book of Revelations to Cerinthus, as its author*, I shall only now answer,

First, That we have very strong reason to presume *the Revelation*, now reputed canonical, *was really wrote by him whose name it bears*.

Secondly, That from the foregoing account it seems very probable, that *the Revelation of Cerinthus was compiled out of that of St. John, with the addition of many trifling fancies, and perhaps the omission of some things not so agreeable to the sentiments of that heretic*. This I am the rather inclined to think; because,

1. *This was a practice very common with the heretics of those early times of the church, viz. to alter the genuine records of Christianity, and to accommodate them to their own impious sentiments, retaining only so much of the true writing, as would enable them with the greater confidence to impose their spurious pieces upon the world*. See above in this part, Chap. I. Observ. II. This has been already proved to be fact as to the Gospel of Bartholomew and Barnabas, and will appear hereafter to be true of the Gospel of the Ebionites, Nazarenes, Marcion, Peter, and others.

2. Because this has been proved to be *the case in respect of the Gospel of Cerinthus in the preceding chapter, viz. that it was an interpolated and corrupted copy of St. Matthew; and it is not strange the same person should be guilty of the same practice with the Revelation of St. John*.

3. Because, supposing the Revelation of St. John to be genuine, *there can be no other cause more probable assigned, why it should have been by so many attributed to Cerinthus*. Upon this hypothesis of his altering it so much, it is not strange if it was by his followers ascribed to him as its author, and so by others; and so this being known, at length even the

genuine book of St. John came, by some weaker persons, who had not compared both, to be ascribed to that heretic. This will yet seem further probable, if we consider the mysteriousness of St. John's book, which is such as would be a very likely means to give force to the common report of its being rather wrote by Cerinthus than St. John, especially if we add this further consideration of its being wrote in a style very different from those commonly received and acknowledged.

Coroll. Hence we may give at least a probable account, why the Revelation of St. John was so long of doubtful authority in the church, viz. because it was unhappily interpolated by Cerinthus immediately after its first being published, and so by many attributed to him. That this was the plain reason why the Alogians rejected it, Epiphanius expressly tells us<sup>k</sup>, and may fairly be concluded of others from what has been said. Something like this is the conjecture of Grotius concerning this matter, with whose words (because of the just reputation of the man) I will finish this chapter<sup>l</sup>. "I suppose," says he, "the reason why there have been doubts concerning "the author and authority of this book among others, [there "given,] is, because what we read in it of the resurrection, of "the thousand years, of Gog and Magog, agrees in sound "with the Jewish books; and though they are here in a different sense, yet were perverted by Cerinthus, and some "Christians, who judaized too much into a plain Jewish sense." But of this more hereafter.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Books under the name of Christ. None of this sort mentioned till St. Austin's time. A malicious mistake of Mr. Toland detected. An Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul proved out of St. Austin to be a ridiculous forgery. Another book attributed to Christ. Concerning the magic of Christ.*

THE books, which fall next in course under consideration, are those attributed to our Saviour Jesus Christ, which before I come particularly to consider, I would premise, that *I have not found any mention of such within the limits of my time,*

<sup>k</sup> Loc. jam cit.

<sup>l</sup> Annot. in Titul. Apocalyps.

i. e. in any writers of the first four centuries, *besides by Austin*, except the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, which is still extant, and to be examined in the next part of this work. It is true indeed, in later ages, many such forgeries are known to have been; some of which are still extant, but so ridiculous and trifling, as not to deserve any mention or regard. Mr. Fabricius has been at the pains (though to little purpose) to collect them in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, where, p. 308, &c. he who has a mind may see a more particular account. I return to what is more material: it does not appear that our Saviour ever wrote any book or letter whatsoever, except *what he wrote with his finger on the ground*<sup>m</sup>, whilst the Jews were accusing the adulterous woman to him; concerning which writing I think it as needless to form any new conjecture of my own, as it would be trifling to give the reader the elaborate discourses of Sixtus Senensis<sup>n</sup>, Fabricius<sup>o</sup>, and others. Mr. Toland indeed in his *Catalogue* (*Amyntor*, p. 20.) under the title of Books reported to be written by Christ himself, reckons one entitled *The Parables and Sermons of Christ*, as mentioned by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 39. At first view of this, one would be ready to conclude, that some such book under this title there certainly was written by our Saviour, seeing it is mentioned by so credible an author as Eusebius. But let the reader observe here a plain instance either of the unfairness or blundering of that silly writer; for it is evident Eusebius never thought any thing of such a book, either wrote by Christ, or that went under his name. The passage referred to is this; speaking of Papias, and his fondness for traditions, he adds,

Και ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγρα-  
φεὺς, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου  
εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα, παρατίθεται  
ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ Σω-  
τῆρος, καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα, &c.

That writer further declares, that he received many other things by oral tradition, viz. some strange parables and discourses of our Saviour, and such like idle fabulous things, &c.

Among these one was the Millennium.

<sup>m</sup> John viii. 6.

<sup>n</sup> *Bibliothec. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 70.*

<sup>o</sup> *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. pars 1. p. 315.*

It is strange Mr. Toland would either suffer himself to be so much imposed upon, or endeavour to impose upon his readers a thing so very gross, as to call that a book written by Christ, and cite Eusebius for it, when Eusebius expressly says, it was no book at all, but only some fabulous traditional stories of Christ, which the credulous Papias had collected. I take it then for granted, that we have no mention of any books, as written by our Saviour till the fourth century; which premised, I come to inquire, what mention is made of them there.

No. XII. *The Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul.*

ST. AUSTIN disputing against the pagans intimates, that they pretended to have seen or read some books which were written by Christ. His words are these :

Ita vero isti desipiunt, ut in illis libris, quos eum scripsisse existimant, dicant contineri eas artes, quibus eum putant ea fecisse miracula, quorum fama ubique percrebuit;—Quid quod etiam divino judicio sic errant quidam eorum, qui talia Christum scripsisse vel credunt, vel credi volunt, ut eosdem libros ad Petrum et Paulum dicant, tanquam epistolari titulo prænotatos.

They are so strangely infatuated, as to assert, that in those books which they suppose Christ to have written, are contained those arts, by which he wrought his celebrated miracles.—They are so blinded by the judgment of God upon them, who believe or would have others believe that Christ wrote such books, as to say, that the books are wrote in the form of an Epistle to Peter and Paul.

It is not very difficult to form a judgment concerning these spurious pieces; and indeed the folly of them is so well demonstrated by St. Austin, that I need do little more than give the reader his words. He first seems to question the sincerity of their relation as to the fact: “If they have,” says he, “any such books which they affirm Christ to have written, let them produce them to us. They must necessarily be very useful and edifying books, which were written by one whom themselves esteemed as a man of the greatest wisdom. If they are afraid to produce them, it is a sign they are bad; and if they are bad, they could not be written by the wisest

“ of men ; but such they confess Christ to have been, there-  
 “ fore Christ did not write any such book.”—A little after,  
 “ Why do not they who affirm they have read such books do  
 “ some such works, as they with wonder own he did by them?”  
 In the rest of the chapter this pious father shews it impossible  
 that this book should not be a forgery, by this good argument,  
 “ that St. Paul was not a Christian until a considerable time  
 “ after Christ's ascension, and so could not be joined with  
 “ Peter, as a disciple of Christ, and receive a letter from him,  
 “ unless it was sent by post from heaven.”

It is manifest therefore this book must be reckoned apocryphal and spurious by Prop. IV, V, and VI. as also by Prop. VIII. it containing things contrary to certainly known and undoubted truths, which being such also as are subversive of the whole design and doctrine of Christianity, viz. That Christ wrought his miracles by magical arts<sup>9</sup>, prove it apocryphal by Coroll. Prop. VIII.

Whether this book was forged by a heathen or a Christian, is not very easy to determine. St. Austin supposes the latter<sup>r</sup>, which indeed seems the more probable conjecture, and because it is a very ingenious one, it may be worth while to transcribe it. “ Perhaps,” says he, “ it was the contrivance of some, “ who fancied by writing such books, under the names of “ Christ and his apostles, they could gain some weight and authority from so glorious a name to these execrable arts ; but “ were so infatuated in their impudent imposture, as justly to “ expose themselves to the laughter of children, and those who “ were only able to read (*in gradu lectorum*) the Christian “ books. For when they had resolved to forge such a letter “ under the name of Christ to his apostles, they contrived to “ inscribe it to those to whom it was most likely to be believed “ that Christ would have wrote, viz. those who were most familiar with him, and so most worthy of having such a secret “ committed to them ; hereupon they presently thought of “ Peter and Paul, because, I suppose, they had often seen “ these two pictured with Christ, seeing the passion of Peter

<sup>9</sup> See August. c. 9. lib. cit.

<sup>r</sup> I interpret this of a Christian, because he makes a plain opposition be-

tween these, and those whom he calls *inimici nominis Christi*, i. e. heathens.

“and Paul on the same day is frequently and solemnly celebrated at Rome.”

If this conjecture be just, we see an instance of the pious frauds of the first Christians in forging books, which I assigned as one reason of the great number of apocryphal pieces, in the first part of this work, chap. iv.

Nº. XIII. *Another book under the name of our Saviour Christ.*

OF this we have some account in another part of the last cited book of St. Austin<sup>2</sup>. His words are

Primo mihi discutiendum occurrit, quod nonnulli quærere solent, cur ipsius Christi nulla scripta proferamus? Ita enim volunt, et ipsum credi nescio quid aliud scripsisse, quod diligunt, nihilque sensisse contra Deos suos, sed eos potius magico ritu coluisse, et discipulos ejus non solum fuisse mentitos de illo, dicendo illum Deum per quem omnia facta sunt, cum [non]<sup>1</sup> aliud nisi quam homo fuerit, quamvis excellentissimæ sapientiæ, verum etiam de diis eorum non hoc docuisse quod ab illo didicissent.

I judged it necessary first to discuss a question moved by some [pagans], *Why we [Christians] can produce no books written by Christ himself?* For so they would persuade us, that he wrote some other sort of book, [different from the Evangelists,] which they esteem, and in which he appears to have thought nothing to the prejudice of their gods, but on the other hand himself to have worshipped them with magical ceremonies, and that his disciples did not only assert false things of him, in saying, That he was the God by whom all things were made, when he was no more than a mere man, though of most extraordinary wisdom, but that he did not teach those things concerning their gods which they [pretended to have] learnt.

It would seem at first view, the book here mentioned was the same with the foregoing, each of them treating concerning

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 34.

<sup>1</sup> I insert the particle *non*, because either that or some other word like it

was certainly wrote by St. Austin, though it be not in my edition.

the magic of Christ; but, if I mistake not, there is a probable reason at least to *conclude them to have been different*, because St. Austin supposes the former to have been composed by some impious Christian; but this he could not possibly conceive to have the same original. It is possible a Christian so called (for there were many in those days little more so than in name) might conceive a magical book, and publish it under the name of Christ, which is the case in respect of the former book; but it is impossible a person should take upon him the Christian name, and write a book to prove Christ a worshipper of the idol gods, to countenance the heathens in their idolatry, and to make all his apostles and disciples impostors and liars, which is the case with respect to the book now under consideration. However this be, it was certainly apocryphal by Prop. IV, V, VI, and VIII.

After reading what has been said concerning these two magical books ascribed to Christ, I hope no one will be surprised at the mention of them; nor is it strange, such forged accounts should be published, when we find that as the Jews objected to our Saviour himself, that he wrought his miracles by the power of devils, Matt. xii. 24. so both Jews and Gentiles endeavoured to spread the same malicious lies in the first ages of Christianity. Celsus frequently makes this impious objection, "that Christ learned his magical arts from the Egyptians, among whom he had his education<sup>u</sup>." The same we meet with frequently as made by others in the writings of Eusebius<sup>x</sup>, Arnobius<sup>y</sup>, Austin<sup>z</sup>, &c. The Jews have a trite idle fable to the same purpose, *That in the reign of queen Helena there was a stone in the temple of Jerusalem, on which the ark was formerly placed, on which was engraved שם ה'מפדש i. e. the name Jehovah, in such letters that it might be read* (for the Jews all hold that name ineffable, and not to be pronounced.) *Now the efficacy of this name was such, that whoever learned the pronunciation of it, became thereby able to work all sorts of miracles. But the wise men among them, fearing lest an ill use should be made hereof, appointed brazen dogs to keep*

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Origen. contra Cels. l. 1. p. 30. et l. 8. p. 384. et Spencer. Annot. in lib. 1. p. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Contr. Hieroc. et Demonst. E-

vang. l. 3. §. 6.

<sup>y</sup> Contr. Gent. l. 1. p. 15.

<sup>z</sup> Loc. supra cit. et Serm. xi. in Matth. p. 38. Tom. Opp. 10.

the gate, which were formed with such exquisite art, that if any should learn the name, and be going away with it in his memory, they should be so affrighted with the terrible barkings of the dogs, as to forget it; but that Jesus knowing this, wrote it down in parchment, and sewed it up in a wound which he made in his thigh for that purpose, and so, after he went out of the temple, taking forth the parchment, recovered the name again which he had forgot, and by virtue of it wrought all his miracles.

Such were the despicable objections the Jews and heathens made against our Saviour; the confutation of which in a very just and clear manner may be read in the forecited places of Origen, Eusebius, Austin, and especially Arnobius; and among the moderns in the celebrated Huetius<sup>a</sup>; and Dr. Parker's Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion<sup>b</sup>.

## CHAP. XV.

*A spurious Epistle of Christ among the Manichees. A notorious blunder of Mr. Toland. A Hymn which Christ taught his disciples, forged by the Priscillianists in the fourth century. The occasion of the forgery. The spuriousness of the Hymn.*

Nº. XIV. *The Epistle of Christ produced by the Manichees.*

THE only account which we have of this letter is in St. Austin's Disputation with Faustus the Manichee<sup>c</sup>.

Quis est ergo tam demens, qui hodie credat esse Epistolam Christi, quam protulerit Manichæus, et non credat facta vel dicta esse Christi quæ scripsit Matthæus?

Can any one be so wild, as to believe that to be the Epistle of Christ, which Manichæus produces, and not believe the histories and doctrines of Christ, which are related by Matthew?

Mr. Fabritius<sup>d</sup> supposes, that this passage does not fully prove; that the Manichees really had any such Epistle under the name of Christ, but that St. Austin only, for argument's

<sup>a</sup> Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. IX. c.

T. Opp. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Sect. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. Apoc. N. T. pars 1. p. 306. in Notis.

<sup>c</sup> Contr. Faust. Manich. lib. 28. c. 4.



sake, makes such a supposition; but the whole series of the father's reasoning seems to prove the contrary. He is endeavouring to prove the reasonableness of the Manichees submitting to the authority of St. Matthew's Gospel; and his argument stands fairly thus: "You boast of an Epistle, which you have, written by Christ: this, if it were really so, must needs have been read and received with the utmost veneration in the church, that has a continued succession of bishops from the apostles' time: but it has no such evidence of its being genuine, and yet you believe it rather than Matthew's Gospel, which was always received by the church. Besides, your pretended Epistle receives all its credit from an obscure man of Persia, who lived two hundred years or more after Christ; and is he likely to give a better account of what Christ said and did than Matthew, who was one of his apostles and companions?"

Thus far he; which reasoning necessarily supposes a real Epistle under Christ's name, among the Manichees: what doctrines it contained, I cannot guess, any further, than that it is probable they were such as peculiarly suited to the opinions of Manes and his followers, of which a specimen is given above, chap. v. It was certainly a spurious piece, as appears by St. Austin's reasoning and Prop. IV, V, VI.

I scarce know whether it be worth while to trouble the reader with the following remark on Mr. Toland's inaccuracy in quotations, unless it may be looked upon as (which I think I may justly say it is) a specimen of his constant foul dealing in these matters. In his catalogue of books reported to be written by Christ (Amynt. p. 21.) he refers his reader to this book of St. Austin for an Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul; and quotes lib. 28. c. 13. Now in all this book there is not one syllable of any such Epistle; and whereas he cites the thirteenth chapter, there are but five chapters in that book: but this is not all; he produces another book, which he calls, *A Book of the Magic of Christ*, and for this refers the reader to August. de Consens. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 9, 10. and then adds, "If it be not the same with the Epistle to Peter and Paul," i. e. the Epistle which he thought had been mentioned in the twenty-eighth book against Faustus: a learned note indeed!

In the first place to guess this the same with a book which was not mentioned in the place cited, and then to guess it to be the very same with itself; for had this blunderer but cast his eye upon the place he refers to in St. Austin de Consens. he must have seen that the book of the Magic of Christ was in that very place said to be wrote in form of an Epistle to Peter and Paul. But it is plain he cited from others, and was glad to say any thing which would sound bad against Christianity, though so plainly at the expense of his ingenuity and integrity.

Nº. XV. *A Hymn which Christ taught his disciples.*

MR. TOLAND in his forementioned catalogue, and Mr. Fabritius<sup>e</sup> have observed this spurious piece in an epistle under St. Austin's name, inscribed to a bishop called Ceretius. But as this epistle is not in my edition of that father's works, I am obliged entirely to depend on Mr. Fabritius's quotation out of him, which, that nothing may be wanting here, I shall transcribe with the addition of a few remarks.

Hymnus sane quem dicunt Priscillianistæ esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui maxime permovit venerationem tuam, in scripturis solet apocryphis inveniri.—Priscillianistæ vero accipiunt omnia et canonica et apocrypha simul.—Habes verba illorum in illo codice posita, *Hymnus Domini quem dixit secrete sanctis Apostolis et Discipulis, quia scriptum est in Evangelio, Hymno dicto ascendit in montem, et qui in canone non est positus propter eos qui secundum se sentiunt, et non secundum Spiritum et veritatem Dei.*—In isto hymno cantatur et dicitur, *Solvere volo et solvi volo—Salvare volo et salvari volo—Ornare volo et ornari volo—Lucerna sum tibi, ille qui me*

As for that hymn which the Priscillianists say is our Lord Jesus Christ's, and for which you have so great a veneration, it is really among the apocryphal scriptures. The Priscillianists receive all sorts of books, canonical and apocryphal too. You have their words in that book, *A HYMN WHICH CHRIST SECRETLY TAUGHT HIS APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES*; for it is written, *Having sung a hymn, he went up into a mountain*, and which is not placed in the canon by reason of those who are governed by their own sentiments, and not by the Spirit and truth of God. In that hymn there are the following words to be sung and said, *I will bind, and I will be bound. I will save, and I will*

<sup>e</sup> Lib. sup. cit. p. 307.

<i>vides—Janua sum tibi, quicunque</i>	<i>be saved. I will adorn, and I will</i>
<i>me pulsas—Qui vides quod ago,</i>	<i>be adorned. I am a light to thee,</i>
<i>tace opera mea.</i>	<i>who seest me. I am a gate to thee,</i>
	<i>who knockest at me. Thou who</i>
	<i>seest what I do, conceal my works.</i>

From this account we see what gave occasion to this impious forgery, viz. *our Saviour's singing a hymn with his apostles after the paschal supper, and their going thereupon up to the mount of Olives*, Matt. xxvi. 30. The heretics, who esteemed it, were an impious sort of Christians, in the middle of the fourth century, so called from Priscillianus, a Spaniard <sup>f</sup>, who jumbled together and adopted the silly and ridiculous tenets of the Gnostics and Montanists. That this hymn was forged by Priscillian himself, or some of his followers, seems to me probable, from the last words of it in the foregoing fragment, "Thou, who seest what I do, conceal my works." For concealing their mysteries and secrecy of their doctrines was enjoined all the sect; and St. Austin tells us, this was one of their maxims <sup>g</sup>;

*Jura ; perjura ; secretum prodere noli.*

Swear ; forswear ; but be careful of your secrets.

However it may be, as to this conjecture, the hymn was certainly spurious, for the same reasons as the former pieces falsely ascribed to Christ, Prop. IV, V, and VI. But besides, the short fragment given us by St. Austin undeniably proves it ; for there cannot be any thing more disagreeable to the style of Christ than it is ; in which there are no where such jingles and playing with sounds, as appear to be in this. Moreover, if I mistake not, the jingle in the two first sentences proves this hymn to be first written in the Latin tongue ; for though indeed it is possible they may be a translation, yet nothing can be more improbable, than that two such distinct ideas, as *binding* and *saving*, should have been brought together in such a manner, as they are, by any other means, than the great likeness which there is between the sounds *solvere* and *salvare*. Nothing else could have produced two such sentences as, *sol-*

<sup>f</sup> Vid. August. de Hæres. Num. 70. T. Opp. 6.

<sup>g</sup> De Hæres. ad Quodv. Num. 70. T. Opp. 6.

*vere volo et solvi volo, salvare volo et salvari volo.* It is therefore to be judged spurious by Prop. XI. and XII.

But to conclude this matter, it is plain by the express testimonies of the best writers among the ancients, that our Lord Jesus Christ left nothing behind him in writing, although there be indeed many sayings, not in our Gospels, attributed to our Saviour, to be found in the ancient books, which, for the entertainment of the curious in these things, I have collected, and shall place in an appendix at the end of this part.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The testimonies of the ancients concerning the Gospel of the Egyptians. All its Fragments: supposed by later writers to be written before Luke wrote his Gospel. Too highly esteemed by the moderns. Rejected by all the ancients as apocryphal. Clemens Alexandrinus rejected it. It was forged by the monks of Egypt. This largely proved, with an account of Philo's Therapeutæ.*

Nº. XVI. *The Gospel according to the Egyptians.*

**THIS** was one of the most celebrated of all the ancient apocryphal books; it is frequently mentioned in the old writings, and very highly esteemed by several of our modern critics, being supposed to have been “a faithful composure of some catholic Christians in Egypt, before either of the four canonical Gospels now received.” It requires therefore a very exact and critical inquiry; in attempting which I shall, according to my method, first produce the testimonies and fragments of it, which are to be found in the ancient books, then the opinions of the moderns, which I have met with, concerning it, adding the most suitable remarks I can upon the whole.

*The ancient testimonies and fragments of the Gospel according to the Egyptians.*

1. The first writer who has mentioned any thing of it, is Clemens Alexandrinus in the latter end of the second century: the several places are as follow, viz.

Strom. lib. 3. p. 445.

Τῇ Σαλώμῃ ὁ Κύριος πυνθανο-  
μένη, μέχρι πότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει·  
οὐχ, ὡς κακοῦ τοῦ βίου ὄντος, καὶ  
τῆς κτίσεως πονηρᾶς· Μέχρις ἂν,  
εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε.

When Salome asked our Lord,  
*How long death should prevail?*  
[not as though life were an evil,  
or the creation an evil] he an-  
swered, *As long as ye women do*  
*bring forth children.*

It is not expressly said by Clemens here, that this passage was in the Gospel of the Egyptians; but it evidently appears to be taken thence by the next passage a few pages after, viz.

Page 452.

Οἱ δὲ ἀντιτασσόμενοι, τῇ κτίσει  
τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς εὐφήμου ἐγκρα-  
τείας, κάκεινα λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς  
Σαλώμην εἰρημένα, ὧν προτέρον  
ἐμνήσθημεν. Φέρεται δὲ, οἶμαι, ἐν  
τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Εὐαγγελίῳ·  
ῥασι γὰρ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν Σωτὴρ,  
Ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς  
θηλείας· θηλείας μὲν, τῆς ἐπιθυ-  
μίας, ἔργα δὲ, γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν.

But they who oppose [the de-  
sign] of God's creation, by their  
specious pretences to celibacy,  
cite those things which our Sa-  
viour spake to Salome, which I  
just before mentioned. They are,  
I think, in the Gospel according  
to the Egyptians; for they say,  
that our Saviour himself said, *I*  
*am come to destroy the works of*  
*the woman, that is, the works of*  
*female concupiscence, generation*  
*and corruption.*

From what follows in Clemens it appears, that upon our Saviour's saying this, Salome asked him the foregoing question, viz. *How long it should be that death should prevail against men?* and he answered, *While ye women bring forth children.* To which in the next page we meet with her reply, and our Saviour's answer again,

Page 453.

Φαμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς, Καλῶς ὅν  
ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα, ὡς οὐ δέοντος  
τῆς γενέσεως παραλαμβανομένης·  
ἀμείβεται λέγων ὁ Κύριος, Πᾶ-  
σαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν  
ἔχουσιν μὴ φάγῃς.

Hereupon she said, *Then I have*  
*done well in bearing no children,*  
*seeing there is no necessity of ge-*  
*neration.* To which our Lord re-  
plied, *Feed upon every herb, but*  
*that which is bitter eat not.*

Page 465.

Διὰ τοῦτό τοι ὁ Κασσιανὸς φησὶ,

Wherefore Cassianus saith, that

πυθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, πότε  
γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἥρετο, ἔφη  
ὁ Κύριος, Ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης  
ἔνδυμα πατήσῃτε, καὶ ὅταν γένηται  
τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς  
θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρρεν, οὔτε θῆλυ·  
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ἐν τοῖς παραδε-  
δομένοις ἡμῖν τέταρσιν Εὐαγγελίοις  
οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητὸν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ  
κατ' Αἰγυπτίους.

when Salome asked (Christ)  
*When the things should be known,*  
*concerning which she inquired?*  
our Lord answered, *When you*  
*shall despise, or have no need for,*  
*a covering of your nakedness, and*  
*when two shall become one, and*  
*the male with the female, neither*  
*male nor female.* (Clemens adds)  
First, I observe, this is not in ei-  
ther of the four Gospels delivered  
to us, but in the Gospel according  
to the Egyptians.

This last passage, with some little variation, is in the end of the second Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, and will be produced in the appendix at the end of this part.

II. The Gospel according to the Egyptians is mentioned by Origen<sup>b</sup>, “The church receives only four Gospels; the heretics “have very many, such as that according to the Egyptians,” &c. See the passage produced at large above, No. V. chap. 7. It is mentioned in the same manner by Ambrose: see the same place.

III. It is also mentioned by Jerome<sup>i</sup> in the passage above produced at large, No. IV. chap. 7. in init. “Many have “wrote Gospels, which gave occasion to heresies, without the “Spirit and grace of God, such as that according to the Egyptian-  
“tians,” &c.

IV. Epiphanius in his account of the heresy of the Sabelians saith, they established their erroneous principles by the Gospel of the Egyptians, and other apocryphal books. His words are,

#### Hæres. LXII. §. 2.

Κέχρηται δὲ ταῖς πάσαις γραφαῖς  
παλαιᾷ τε καὶ καινῇ Διαθήκῃς,  
λέξεσι δὲ τισιν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐκλέγον-  
ται κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν παρα-  
πειοιμημένην φρενοβλάβειάν τε καὶ  
ἄνοιαν—Τὴν δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν πλα-

They make use of all the scrip-  
tures, both of the Old and New  
Testament, but principally of  
some certain passages, which  
they pick out according to their  
own corrupt and preposterous

<sup>b</sup> Homil. in Luc. i. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Præf. in Comm. in Matth.

νήν, καὶ τὴν τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀποκρύφων τι-  
νων, μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου  
Αἰγυπτίου Εὐαγγελίου, ᾧ τινες τὸ  
ὄνομα ἐπέθεντο τοῦτο· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ  
πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστω  
μυστηριακῶς, ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Σω-  
τῆρος ἀναφέρεται, ὡς αὐτοῦ δη-  
λοῦντος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν  
εἶναι Πατέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν,  
τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

sentiments.—But the whole of their errors, and the main strength of their heterodoxy, they have from some apocryphal books, but principally from that which is called, The Gospel of the Egyptians; which is a name some have given it: for in that many things of this sort are proposed in a hidden mysterious manner, as by our Saviour, as though he had said to his disciples, *That the Father was the same Person, the Son the same Person, and the Holy Ghost the same Person.*

These are the accounts we have from antiquity of this famous Gospel.

My second proposal was, in like manner to give some account of the sentiments of more modern writers concerning it.

Sixtus Senensis<sup>k</sup>.

The Gospel of the Egyptians, or according to the Egyptians, was made use of by the heretics, called Valentinians. Clemens Alexandrinus rejects [answers] certain testimonies cited out of it by Julius Cassianus, and other heretics, to confirm their errors. Epiphanius says, the Sabellians endeavoured to prove out of it, that the Father, Son, and Spirit were one Person.

Erasmus<sup>l</sup>.

When St. Luke says, chap. i. ver. 1. that *many have taken in hand to write*, &c. he means those who attempted, but were not successful in writing; for at that time not only the Gospels of St. Matthew and Mark were extant, but many other Gospels were published, viz. The Gospel of the Nazarenes, Thomas, Matthias, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, that of the Twelve Apostles, Nicodemus, and others, which were afterwards rejected by the church as apocryphal.

Grotius<sup>m</sup>.

It is evident, that, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, there

<sup>k</sup> Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 38. <sup>l</sup> Annot. in Luc. i. 1. <sup>m</sup> Annot. in eund. loc.

were many other books extant concerning Christ, the importance of the subject influencing many to that undertaking: but as these others collected the common rumours, it is not strange they should mix true and false things together, among whom I reckon the most ancient writer of the Gospel according to the Egyptians: for as to the other Gospels which were spread abroad, they are the impious forgeries of much later days.

Mr. Du Pin<sup>n</sup>.

The ancients make mention of two Gospels, which were not of the same authority with the four canonical Gospels, but which cannot be rejected, as records invented by the heretics to authorize their errors, viz. the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

Father Simon<sup>o</sup>.

The fathers have sometimes made use of apocryphal books, and have quoted even false Gospels; as for example, the Gospel that is called, *according to the Egyptians*; which yet is not on this score alone to be reckoned authentic, viz. because it is thought to be most ancient, and cited in Clemens Alexandrinus; nor ought we to reject it under this pretence alone, that the Gnostics and Sabellians have maintained their errors by this book.

Dr. Grabe<sup>p</sup>.

What this learned writer saith concerning this Gospel is too long to be here transcribed; it may be sufficient to express the substance of his opinion in the following particulars. He supposes,

1. *It had its title from its first authors, whom the mystical style of the book, so much in request among the Egyptians, evidences to have been some Christians in Egypt.*

2. *That this, as well as the Gospel of the Hebrews, was published before Luke's Gospel, and was referred to by him in his preface, as being wrote before either of the four canonical Gospels.*

3. *That Clemens Alexandrinus did not reject it, but endeavoured rather to explain it, and make the passages cited out of*

<sup>n</sup> Hist. of the Canon of the New Test. vol. 2. c. 6. §. 3.

part 1. c. 3. p. 28.

<sup>o</sup> Critic. Hist. of the New Test.

<sup>p</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 31. to p. 34.



it to appear capable of a good meaning, which he would never have done, if he esteemed it the composure of an heretic.

Dr. Mills.

About this time, viz. the year of Christ 58, or a little sooner, there were composed by the believing Christians certain historical accounts of Christ and his actions, as appears from St. Luke's preface to his Gospel. These were composed before either of our present canonical Gospels, not with any ill design, but the very same as our Gospels now received. Among these the most celebrated were, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and the Gospel according to the Egyptians; see his Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 35. to 38. It is probable the authors of it were Essenes, who received the Christian faith from the preaching of Mark at Alexandria. Nor does it seem to have been made use of by them publicly, after the publishing of our four canonical Gospels. See §. 50.

Mr. Le Clerc<sup>9</sup>.

Several learned men suppose the false Gospels, viz. that according to the Hebrews, or that according to the Egyptians, gave occasion to Mark and Luke to write their Gospels; but inasmuch as we find no intimations of this in our Gospels, it seems much better to believe, that those holy and inspired men were sufficiently apprised of the danger of leaving such important matters only to the memories of men, before any such spurious Gospels were published.

Mr. Whiston<sup>r</sup>.

The Therapeutæ mentioned by Philo seem to have been those first Christians *Asceticks*, which were converted from the Jews, chiefly in Egypt, soon after our Saviour's passion, before the coming of Mark thither, and to have both imperfectly understood and practised the Christian religion. Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome, plainly take them for Christians, and their sacred ancient mystical books are by Eusebius supposed to be the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament<sup>a</sup>. The modern critics are entirely puzzled about these Therapeutæ, and yet are not willing commonly to believe them Christians. And indeed Eusebius's opinion, that their ancient allegorical

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Eccl. Secul. I. Ann. LXV.  
§. 11. p. 430.

<sup>r</sup> Essay on the Constitut. c. 1. p. 37.  
<sup>s</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 53. &c.

books were our Gospels and Epistles, is liable to great exceptions, since they are not allegorical in their nature, nor were they published any considerable time before Philo's own writings; so that upon the whole, I believe, it is more reasonable to say, these Therapeutæ were those first Christians *Asceticks*, who had gotten very imperfect accounts of Christianity, and were guided by the Gospel according to the Egyptians, which, we know by the fragments remaining, was a Gospel sufficiently mystical and allegorical, according to the genius of that nation.

These are the sentiments of the critics in later ages concerning this Gospel. I have now only left to make some reflections upon the whole. Accordingly I observe:

OBSERV. I. That the Gospel of the Egyptians was certainly an apocryphal book. This appears, 1. by Prop. IV. *it not being found in any of the ancient catalogues of sacred writings*; 2. by Prop. V. *as it is not cited in any of the old records of Christianity*, but rejected as apocryphal by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius, who are the only fathers who have mentioned the name of it. This is evident as to the three last, and may be easily collected from the passages of Clemens above cited, as I shall undeniably shew presently; 3. by Prop. VI. *it not appearing even to have been read in the Christian assemblies*; 4. by Prop. VIII. *as it contained things contrary to known truths*. Of this sort I believe every one will readily allow *the doctrine of the unlawfulness of all marriages*, which, it is certain from the passages of Clemens, this Gospel asserted. Of this sort must needs be *our Saviour's declaring, he came into the world to put an end to all marriage*, i. e. in effect to the race of mankind; which it is plain, by the whole of Clemens's arguing, as well as by the passage itself, was declared as spoken by Christ in this Gospel. Lastly, of this sort Epiphanius reckoned the Sabellian heresy, which was evidently contained therein; but from hence I conclude nothing, it being at this day defended by some: but a most undoubted instance of falsehood is, that Salome in this Gospel is introduced, as applauding herself *for having borne no children*, (see the place above out of Clem. Alex. p. 453.) whereas it is certain, that Salome was the wife of Zebedee, and

the mother of James and John, two of our Lord's apostles; for she, who is by Matthew called *the mother of Zebedee's children*, chap. xxvii. 56. is by Mark, chap. xv. 40. expressly called Salome: that these children were John and James, appears from Matt. iv. 21. x. 2. and many other places. 5. It was evidently apocryphal by Prop. XI. seeing it *relates those things as spoken by Christ, which are directly opposite to his known style and manner of speaking*; for whereas that was *perfectly clear, easy, and familiar*, the sayings here attributed to him are each of them *mystical, involved, and perplexed*, and more like the foolish ambiguous answers of the Delphic oracles, than the rational and plain discourses of Jesus Christ. To instance only in one, when Salome asked him, "When the things, which she inquired about, should come to pass?" he is made to answer, "When you shall tread under foot [or despise] the covering of your nakedness, and when two shall become one, and the male with the female neither male nor female."

It seems therefore very unaccountable, that the authors above-mentioned, viz. Grotius, Du Pin, father Simon, and Dr. Grabe, *should have thought so highly of this Gospel*, and reckon it of a different sort from the books of heretics, *and not to be rejected*. I leave it to the reader, after what is now said, to judge, whether the five arguments I have offered to prove it apocryphal, do not also evidence it to have been the composition of some monstrous and silly heretics, as Origen and Jerome expressly say, and consequently to be rejected as an impious and ridiculous forgery.

OBSERV. II. *Clemens Alexandrinus never saw the Gospel of the Egyptians, never made one citation out of it, but, on the contrary, rejected it as an impious, heretical, and apocryphal book.*

This observation is of very considerable importance in this matter, because the want of it induced the learned critics just named into their erroneous and too high opinion of this Gospel. They imagined it was appealed to, and made use of, by Clemens Romanus and Clemens Alexandrinus in their writings, and therefore concluded, it ought not to be meanly thought of. "It is cited by St. Clemens of Alexandria," saith

Du Pin<sup>†</sup>, “Clemens Romanus,” saith Dr. Grabe<sup>u</sup>, “or who-  
 “ever was the author of the second Epistle to the Corinthians,  
 “undoubtedly most ancient, made use of it.” And again;  
 “Clemens Alexandrinus doth not reject it, but so far approve  
 “of it, as to endeavour to explain its mystical and obscure  
 “passages.” But as I shall hereafter prove abundantly, that  
 Clemens of Rome never made any appeal to this apocryphal  
 Gospel, (viz. in the appendix,) so I shall endeavour here to  
 prove the same of Clemens of Alexandria. My observation  
 consists of three parts: viz. that he *never saw it, nor cited it,  
 but rejected it.* I shall endeavour to prove the truth of each  
 separately.

1. *Clemens Alexandrinus never saw the Gospel according to the Egyptians.* This I gather from what himself says in the second testimony, viz. p. 452. above produced; *Φέρεται δὲ, ὁ-  
 μαι, ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Εὐαγγελίῳ, φασὶ γὰρ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν  
 Σωτῆρ, &c.* “These things” (viz. the discourses between Christ  
 and Salome) “are, AS I SUPPOSE, to be found in the Gospel  
 “according to the Egyptians; for, *they say*, that our Saviour  
 “said,” &c. From whence it is plain, that he was uncertain  
 in what Gospel these discourses were, else he would not have  
 said, “I suppose” they are therein. Had he read the Gospel,  
 or ever seen it, he could not have been in this doubting uncer-  
 tainty. Besides, from the next words it is evident, he only  
 cites by tradition from others, “they say, that our Saviour  
 “said these things;” which implies his own dubiousness and  
 ignorance in the matter.

2. *Clemens Alexandrinus never cited or appealed to this Gospel.* This indeed does necessarily follow from the former  
 head, but will more clearly appear, if we consider, that all the  
 several fragments of it, that are extant in Clemens, *were pro-  
 duced by the heretics, against whom he is disputing, not by  
 him,* as will appear by a bare reading the places cited: so the  
 first passage, page 445, he premises, *ἔπειτα καὶ διαστρεπτικόν,  
 αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φερόμενα διαλύοντας, ὡδὲ πως, τῇ Σαλώμῃ ὁ Κύ-  
 ριος, &c.* “Now I must overthrow and confute the things  
 “urged or cited by them out of the Gospel of the Egyptians,”

<sup>†</sup> History of the Canon of the New Test. vol. 2. c. 6. §. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 34.

&c. So likewise in the next passage, p. 452. Οἱ δὲ ἀντιπασσόμενοι τῇ κρίσει τοῦ Θεοῦ—κακῆναι λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένα, ὥν πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, &c. "They who oppose the designs of God's creation by their specious pretences to celibacy, cite those things, which our Saviour spake to Salome, which I have above mentioned," &c. Again in the third passage, p. 453. he premises, οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένων ἐπιφέρουσιν, &c. "The things which follow, spoken to Salome, they cite, who had rather use any books than the canonical ones," &c. Once more, p. 465, he particularly mentions the person who cited this Gospel, Διὰ τοῦτό τοι ὁ Κασσιανὸς ρησὶ, πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, &c. "Wherefore Cassianus saith, when Salome asked Christ," &c. So that nothing can be more manifest, than that Clemens himself does not cite or appeal to this apocryphal piece, but only cites the writings of heretics, in which appeals were made to it.

But, 3. Clemens was so far from citing it, or approving the Gospel of the Egyptians, *that he utterly rejects it, as an impious, heretical, and apocryphal book.* This will be manifest, if we observe, that the only design of Clemens, in producing these passages out of the heretics' books, is to confute them, and their ridiculous notions of the unlawfulness of all sorts of marriages. Hence he begins with this introduction, p. 445. "As for those who by specious pretences of continency think impiously both of the creation, and the holy Creator, the only Almighty God, and say, that no marriages are lawful, nor procreation of children; that we ought not to bring others into the world to be unhappy, nor satisfy the cruelty of death, I have the following things to say; first, that of John, *And now, there are many antichrists, whence we know the later times are come. They went out from us, but were never of us, for if they had been of us, then they would have continued with us.*" Ἐπειτα καὶ διαστρεπτικὸν αὐτοῦς, τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φερόμενα διαλυόντας, ὥδέ πως, τῇ Σαλώμῃ," &c. In the next place I must confute those things, which they cite [out of the Gospel of the Egyptians] in this manner, "When Salome asked Christ," &c. p. 445. Which when he had confuted, he introduces the next passage thus: "They who by their plausible celibacy oppose the creation of God, urge

“the things spoken by Christ to Salomé,” &c. p. 452. And in the next page, though he does not call this Gospel in so many words apocryphal, yet he plainly does in other words: Οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένων, ἐπιφέρουσιν, οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες Κανόνι, φάμεν γὰρ αὐτῆς, &c. “The things which follow, spoken to Salomé, they cite, who had rather follow any thing than the “true canon of the Gospel,” &c. p. 453. Once more, when he is about to answer the fragment urged out of this Gospel, he reasons against it thus: Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέταρσιν Εὐαγγέλοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίους. “First,” says he, “this saying is not in either of “the four Gospels which have been [received] delivered to us, “but in that according to the Egyptians,” p. 465. He who will lay these things together without prejudice, must evidently perceive, that as Clemens never saw, so he utterly rejected the authority of this Gospel, and esteemed it no other than a vile forgery of some impious heretics. I wish Dr. Grabe had well considered these things, before he gave this Gospel so high a character; but prejudice strangely blinds the greatest men; and it is easy to see that Dr. Grabe’s circumstances, when in England, inclined him to a too fond affection for apocryphal books: so that I think Le Clerc did him no injustice, when he lately styled him *Apocryphorum nimis studiosus* \*.

OBSERV. III. *The Gospel of the Egyptians seems to have been composed by some very early heretics to support their doctrines of celibacy and abstemiousness, and very probably by those of Egypt.*

To confirm this conjecture, I observe,

First, *That there were in the very infancy of Christianity great numbers of persons called Christians, who asserted the unlawfulness of marriages, and professed a great abstemiousness in their manner of life.* Against these St. Paul writes in several of his Epistles; for instance, those words, 1 Cor. vii. 1. *It is good for a man not to touch a woman*; which are not St. Paul’s words, (as our translation makes them to be, and most persons think,) but *their words to him*, intimating a question that had been started by some heretics among them, *whether*

\* Histor. Eccl. de Ascens. Christ. ad Ann. 29. not. ad §. 13. p. 333.

it was lawful to marry? In his first Epistle to Timothy, (c. iv. 3.) he more plainly mentions them as *departer*s from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils—*forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, &c.* And again, in his Epistle to the Colossians, (c. ii. 21.) he blames them *for being influenced by the doctrines which commanded them to touch not, taste not, and handle not, i. e. not touch women, but abstain from marriages, and certain sort of meats.* In these places the apostle is guarding his converts against the artful insinuations of those who declared it was unlawful for a man to marry, or have any concern with a woman; and thus those, who lived near the apostle's time, and while these foolish tenets were yet in esteem, understood him. So Clemens Alexandrinus in the forecited book *γ* interprets both those last passages of Paul, *concerning those who abhorred matrimony*, *περὶ τῶν βδελυσσομένων γάμον ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος λέγει*; and Tertullian expounds the passage in Tim. iv. 3.<sup>z</sup> “The apostle,” says he, “writes against them who forbade “marriage,” &c. But besides the apostle's mentioning this, we find it in the writings of the first fathers continually so; in the Epistle under the name of Ignatius to the Philadelphians, we read, “If any one call lawful marriage and the begetting of “children corruption and pollution, or think any sort of food “abominable, such person has the apostate dragon dwelling “within him<sup>a</sup>.” Though it is observable, that in another part of that same Epistle<sup>b</sup>, the author *gives no small encomium to the virgins in the church of Philadelphia*, who were like Elijah, Joshua, Melchizedek, Elisha, Jeremiah, John Baptist, Timothy, Titus, Euodius, and Clement, who lived all their days in celibacy.

Irenæus, in his account of the heresy and followers of Saturninus, tells us, it was their opinion, “that marrying and “begetting children was from the Devil, that they abstained “from living creatures, and by their pretended sanctity and “abstemiousness induced many to follow them<sup>c</sup>.” The same he asserts was the doctrine of the Encratites<sup>d</sup>, who sprang

<sup>z</sup> P. 447. See also p. 462.

<sup>a</sup> De Monogam. c. 15.

<sup>b</sup> P. 102.

<sup>b</sup> P. 97, 98.

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Hæres. lib. 1. c. 22.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. c. 30.

from Marcion, and Saturninus of Tatian, and his followers<sup>e</sup>. Tertullian affirms the same of Marcion often<sup>f</sup>. Clemens Alexandrinus has wrote a whole book against this doctrine of the Marcionites and Gnosticks, viz. that, in which the Gospel of the Egyptians is mentioned. In short, we find this doctrine professed, not only by the forementioned, but the Manichees<sup>g</sup>, Apostolicks or Apotacticks<sup>h</sup>, Origenians<sup>i</sup>, and most of the heretics of those primitive times of the church. I will only add, that in the spurious book, called The Constitutions of the Apostles, there is also frequent mention of this doctrine<sup>k</sup>; all which laid together will sufficiently confirm the truth of my observation, that *there were in the infancy of Christianity many persons called Christians, who denied the lawfulness of marriage.*

Secondly, *These heretical opinions prevailed in a very remarkable degree in Egypt.* This I gather,

1. *From the common opinion of the ancients*, that the Therapeutæ or Essenes, (for it cannot be reasonably doubted but they were the same persons,) of whom and their opinions Philo has wrote a whole book, *were no other than some imperfect Christians.* Eusebius has largely attempted the proof of this, and that by no contemptible arguments<sup>l</sup>. He first positively asserts, that after St. Mark had preached up and down in Egypt, and even planted churches in the city of Alexandria, “there were immediately a great number of converts, who entered upon a rigid abstemious life.” This I take as a fact most certain, because it is by him so positively asserted, and not a conjecture drawn from Philo, who never mentions any thing of St. Mark. After this he produces a great part of Philo’s book concerning the Essenes in Egypt, and their various sentiments, endeavouring to shew, they were no other than Christians, and that their ancient sacred books were the Prophets of the Old Testament, the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament. Jerome had the same opinion of Philo’s book: he says in the Life of Mark<sup>m</sup>, “that he went with his

<sup>e</sup> Adv. Hæres. lib. 1. c. 31.

<sup>f</sup> Lib. 1. adv. Marcion. c. 29. et

lib. 5. adv. eund. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Epiph. Hæres. 66.

<sup>h</sup> Id. Hæres. 61.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. 64.

<sup>k</sup> See lib. 6. c. 8. 10. 26.

<sup>l</sup> Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. c. 16, 17.

<sup>m</sup> Catal. Viror. Illustr. in Marco.



" Gospel, which he had wrote, into Egypt; and that he first  
 " preached Christ there, and constituted a church; that he  
 " was so remarkable in the abstemiousness of his life, that he  
 " obliged all his converts to follow his example; insomuch  
 " that Philo, the most eloquent of all the Jewish writers, when  
 " he saw the first [Christian] church at Alexandria still ob-  
 " serving the Jewish customs, thought it would be to the ho-  
 " nour of his nation, (viz. the Jews,) to write a book concern-  
 " ing their way of life; and as Luke says, the Christians at  
 " Jerusalem had all things common, so he relates that it was  
 " at Alexandria under Mark's instructions." And to the same  
 purpose a little after, in his Life of Philo, Jerome saith, that  
 he placed Philo among the church writers, " because, by writ-  
 " ing a book concerning the first church of Mark at Alexan-  
 " dria, he has said much in commendation of the Christians:  
 " he not only mentions such as being there, but in many other  
 " provinces, and calls their places of abode monasteries; from  
 " whence it appears, that the first Christians, who believed  
 " there on Christ, were such as the monks now pretend and  
 " desire to be, viz. to have all things common," &c.<sup>n</sup>

Epiphanius also followed Eusebius in his opinion<sup>o</sup>, and  
 makes Philo's Essenes at Alexandria not only to be Mark's  
 converts to Christianity, *but to have derived their very name  
 Essenes, from their being Christians.* " They who believed  
 " on Christ," says he, " were called Jessei (or Essenes) before  
 " they were called Christians, either because Jesse was the fa-  
 " ther of David, or from Jesus, the name of our Lord, because  
 " they were his disciples, and derived their constitution from  
 " him, or from the signification of the name Jesus, which in  
 " Hebrew signifies the same as *θεραπευτής*," (the name by which  
 Philo calls them,) " i. e. a Saviour, or physician." Whether  
 these etymologies are right, I need not dispute: Fuller, Sera-  
 rius, and Scaliger, have disputed it sufficiently<sup>p</sup>. The fact I  
 contend for is sufficiently plain, that Epiphanius thought these  
 Essenes at Alexandria to have been the first Christians there.  
 I might here further add the judgment of other ancient writers

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. in Philone.

<sup>o</sup> Hieron. 29. §. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Serar. Trihaeres. lib. 3. c. 1.

et Scaliger. Elench. Trihaeres. c. 26.

Fuller Miscell. Sac. lib. 1. c. 3. lib. 2.

c. 3. et lib. 4. c. 3.

to the same purpose, as Cedrenus, Sozomen, Nicephorus, &c. but it is needless in so evident a case. It has indeed been very much debated, whether their opinion in this matter be right, or no; viz. whether the Essenes in Egypt were Christians, or not. Scaliger<sup>a</sup>, Fuller<sup>r</sup>, Godwin<sup>s</sup>, Valesius<sup>t</sup>, Le Clerc<sup>u</sup>, and generally *all the protestants*, have rejected the authority of the fathers in this point, and believe Philo's Essenes were not Christians; on the other hand, *they of the Roman church* generally hold the affirmative, such as Bellarmine<sup>x</sup>, Serarius, who has wrote very largely about it<sup>y</sup>, and lately the learned Montfaucon<sup>z</sup>. I will not here enter into so large a dispute; for my own part I believe neither of the contending parties perfectly in the right, nor their arguments on either side conclusive. I shall only deliver my own conjecture concerning the matter, which I think myself able, when there is occasion, to support by good arguments. What I mean is a sort of compounding the matter thus, viz. 1. That when Philo wrote soon after our Saviour's resurrection, *there were a great number of Jewish Essenes at Alexandria*; and though at that time Christianity was not yet spread in Egypt, (and so Philo could not mention the name of Christ or his apostles,) yet soon afterwards it was very much received in Alexandria.

2. *That the Jews were generally the first converts that were made to Christianity, in every place where the apostles went.* This has been already proved above<sup>a</sup>.

3. *The principles of the Essenes there were such as would be likely to influence them above all others to become Christians.* This is plain out of Philo, especially if we suppose there were any of the Gnosticks, or disciples of Saturninus, or their followers, in Egypt, as we know Simon Magus was, from whom they arose.

4. It seems therefore probable, that *some of these received Christianity, and at the same time continued in their old way of living abstemiously.* "Who can prove," says a late writer<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Prolegom. in Lib. de Emend. Temp. et lib. 6. p. 539.

<sup>r</sup> Locis jam citat.

<sup>s</sup> Moses and Aaron, lib. 1. c. 12. in fine.

<sup>t</sup> In Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 17.

<sup>u</sup> Prolegom. in Hist. Eccl. §. 1. c. 5.

et 15.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Serar. Tribarea. lib. 3. c. 17.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. &c.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Cleric. loc. cit.

<sup>a</sup> Part 1. c. 2. p. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Whitby on 1 Tim. iv. 3.

“that no Essenes embraced the faith of Christ, or that they could not do it, and yet retain their old sentiments concerning meats and marriage?”

5. Hence Eusebius knowing certainly *there were some such* sort of Christians in Egypt, might easily be induced to believe, *they were generally of the same sort*, and consequently the same of whom Philo wrote.

But if, after all, Eusebius should not be in the right, nor the fathers that followed him, nor my conjecture be just, it must at least be certain, there was a very great agreement between these Egyptian Therapeutæ or Essenes, and the first Christians in Egypt, in their customs, and so it only remains necessary to give some instances of this. I need only mention one for my present purpose, viz. that relating to their forbidding marriage; and as I have abundantly proved this of the most ancient heretics, so to shew the same of these Essenes or Therapeutæ. Josephus relates this concerning them in several places<sup>c</sup>, (though he indeed mentions a sort of them that did marry,) so also did Pliny<sup>d</sup> and Philo several times<sup>c</sup>. Concerning the celibacy of the Egyptian Therapeutæ, I shall only recite one passage out of his book, *De Vita Contemplativa*, page 899.

Συνεστιῶνται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες, ὧν πλείους γυναικαὶ παρθένοι τὴν ἀγνείαν, οὐκ ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἔναι τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν ἱερῶν, διαφυλάττειν μᾶλλον, ἢ κατ’ ἐκούσιον γνώμην, διὰ δὲ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον τῆς σοφίας, ἢ συμβιοῦν σπουδάζουσαι, τῶν περὶ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἡλόγησαν, οὐ θνητῶν ἐκγόνων, ἀλλ’ ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι, &c.

Women also are admitted to their feasts, most of which are old virgins, who preserved their virginity not by compulsion, as some sacred ones among the heathen, but of their own accord, through their zealous desire of wisdom, in the constant pursuit of which, through their whole lives, they despised all carnal enjoyments, not desiring mortal and perishing children, but those which are immortal.

It appears therefore from the ancient opinion of the Egyptian Therapeutæ, that there were the same heretical doctrines

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. Jud. lib. 18. c. 2. et de Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Natural Hist. lib. 5. c. 17.

<sup>e</sup> See Serarius’s Collections of their Dogmata.

of the unlawfulness of marriage among the Christians in Egypt, as in other countries.

2. This further appears probable from this consideration, viz. *that monasteries, and the monkish way of life, derive their first original from Egypt.* It is not at all strange, that an abstemiousness, so great as that of the first Christians in Egypt, above described, should influence many zealous persons to the like practices, and that these by degrees should add many other things of the same nature. Serarius makes no doubt but they were the first beginners of the monastic life; it is enough to my purpose to observe, that the first certain evidences of this were in Egypt, in the latter end of the second, or beginning of the third century. This Jerome tells us<sup>f</sup>; “It has often been a question,” says he, “from whom the desert way of life of the monks derives its original? Some derive it as far as from Elijah and John—Others (which is the prevailing opinion) from Antonius; which is in part true, for he was not so much the first in this way of life, as the means of propagating it; for Amathas and Macarius, two disciples of Antonius, affirm, that one Paul of Thebais (in Egypt) was the chief author of this matter, which I also assent to.” Sozomen<sup>g</sup> follows the common opinion, and deduces it from Antonius, but he also lived in Egypt: but in a thing so well known I need produce no more authorities. An account of their way of living, and the means that Paul and Antonius promoted it, may be read in the places already cited, and the writers of ecclesiastical history in the third century<sup>h</sup>. Now hence I argue it as probable, that the Egyptian Christians were *remarkable above others for their abstemiousness*, in the time before this Paul; else it is not likely he should have influenced such great numbers as he did, in so short a time, to become his followers.

3. Perhaps it may not be absurd to argue the same *from the design of the third book of Clemens Alexandrinus’s Stromata, which is principally to confute those heretics, who denied the lawfulness of entering into a conjugal state.* For inasmuch

<sup>f</sup> In Vit. Paul. Eremit. par. 3. Tract. 8. de vit. contem. Epist. 37.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12. et l. 6. c. 29.

<sup>h</sup> See especially Spanheim. Hist. Eccl. Secul. III. p. 802.

as we do not find this argument insisted upon so largely by any of the writers of his, or the preceding century, it seems reasonable to conclude these heretics prevailed most in that country and place where he lived. This was Alexandria, the very place where Philo lived, and where his Therapeutæ were in the greatest numbers. "They abound," says he<sup>1</sup>, "most in the provinces of Egypt, but especially about Alexandria."

Thirdly, *The remaining fragments of the Gospel according to the Egyptians are all such as were urged out of it by those who held marriages and procreation of children sinful, in order to countenance their errors in this respect.* This is evident from the passages themselves, and what has been above said concerning them. For instance, the Gospel of the Egyptians makes Christ to approve celibacy and a single life: the Egyptian Christians forbade all marriages as unlawful; in the Gospel of the Egyptians, Salome is introduced, as concluding from what our Saviour said, that she did well in bearing no children: among the Egyptian Christians we find women celebrated for their virginity, and resolution not to bear children. Once more, in the Egyptian Gospel we find it the main reason assigned against bearing children, that they should not be brought to trouble and death; so Philo says his Therapeutæ, who were the source and pattern of these Egyptian Christians, desired not to bear children, which should perish and die, &c.

I omit making the parallel between the old Christian heretics and Philo's Therapeutæ, in other instances of their abstemiousness, viz. their avoiding certain sorts of meats, &c. because we have no account of it in the remaining fragments of the Egyptian Gospel, though I could easily shew there was such agreement.

Laying therefore all these things together, and judging with a due impartiality, I think there is as much evidence as the nature of the subject will allow, that the Gospel of the Egyptians was the forged composure of some imperfect Christians in Egypt, with design the better to recommend their plausible doctrines of celibacy and abstemiousness under the names of Christ and his apostles; easily perceiving, that whatever was

<sup>1</sup> De Vit. Contemplat. p. 892.

published under so great names, would be more likely to impress and influence the minds of the people.

I have only further to add, that the foregoing account seems to receive some strength from the consideration of the Gospel of the Egyptians not being cited, nor even mentioned or known by any Christians before the very end of the fourth century, but only Clemens and Origen, who both dwelt at Alexandria in Egypt. Thus much of this famous Gospel, which I have taken more pains about than ordinary, because it has been judged by many learned men not only a most ancient, but valuable Gospel, made use of by true primitive Christians, and not by heretics: but with what justice, let the reader now judge.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The Acts of the Apostles made use of by the Ebionites. A Fragment of them. Mr. Toland's unfair dealing censured. The Gospel of the Ebionites.*

No. XVII. *The Acts of the Apostles received by the Ebionites.*

ALTHOUGH we have very frequent mention in the ancient writers of spurious Acts under the Apostles names, yet I do not remember that any writer has either mentioned this, or hinted at any such things as it contained, besides Epiphanius. His account we have Hæres. 30. §. 16. viz. After having said, the Ebionites make use of the same Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which also Cerinthus and Carpocras did use, as also the Acts of Peter written by Clemens, he adds:

Πράξεις δὲ ἄλλας καλοῦσιν Ἀποστόλων εἶναι, ἐν αἷς πολλὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ἐμπλεα, ἔνθεν τὰ οὐ παρέργως κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἑαυτοὺς ᾤπισαν. Ἀναβαθμοὺς γάρ τινες καὶ ὑφηγήσεις δῆθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀναβαθμοῖς Ἰακώβου ὑποτίθενται, ὡς ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ,

But they have others, which they call the Acts of the Apostles, in which there are many of their wicked opinions, with which they carefully furnish themselves to oppose the truth. For they have there forged certain steps, and certain speeches of James in each of them, in which he declares against the temple and sacrifices, and the fire on the altar, besides

καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κενοφρονίας ἔμ-  
πλεα· ὥς καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν-  
ταῦθα κατηγοροῦντες οὐκ αἰσχύν-  
ονται, ἐπιπλάστοις τισὶ τῆς τῶν  
ψευδαποστόλων αὐτῶν κακουργίας  
καὶ πλάνης λόγοις πεποιημένοις·  
Ταρσέα μὲν αὐτὸν, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁμο-  
λογεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἄρνεῖται, λέγοντες,  
ἐξ Ἑλλήνων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποτίθενται,  
λαβόντες τὴν πρόφασιν ἐκ τοῦ τό-  
που διὰ τὸ φιλάληθες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
ῥηθὲν, ὅτι Ταρσεύς εἰμι, οὐκ ἀσή-  
μου πόλεως, πολίτης. Εἶτα φά-  
σκουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἑλληνα, καὶ  
Ἑλληνίδος μητρός, καὶ Ἑλληνας  
πατρὸς παῖδα, ἀναβεβηκέναι δὲ εἰς  
Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ χρόνον ἐκεῖ μεμε-  
νηκέναι, ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι δὲ θυγα-  
τέρα τοῦ Ἱερέως πρὸς γάμον ἀγα-  
γεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα προσ-  
ήλυτον γενέσθαι καὶ περιτμηθῆναι.  
Εἶτα μὴ λαβόντα τὴν κόρην ὠργί-  
σθαι, καὶ κατὰ τῆς περιτομῆς γε-  
γραφέναι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ σαββά-  
του, καὶ νομοθεσίας.

many other things perfectly silly  
and ridiculous : for instance, they  
had the impudence to accuse  
Paul therein, by some false sto-  
ries forged by the wickedness and  
deceit of their pretended apostles :  
for calling him a man of Tarsus,  
(which he himself is so far from  
denying, that he expressly owns  
it,) they falsely represent him as a  
Gentile, concluding so from that  
place, where he truly says, *I am  
a man of Tarsus, and a citizen of  
no mean city.* (See Acts xxi. 39.)  
Furthermore, they say, he was a  
Gentile, and of Gentile parentage  
on both sides, and that when he  
went up to Jerusalem, and had  
stayed there some time, he had an  
inclination to marry the [high]  
priest's daughter, and, on that  
account, became a proselyte, and  
was circumcised. But being dis-  
appointed, and not obtaining the  
young lady, he was angry, and  
wrote against circumcision, and  
the sabbath, and the law [of  
Moses].

Part of this fragment is produced by Mr. Toland in his  
Original plan or scheme of Christianity according to the Ebi-  
onites<sup>k</sup>, both in Greek and English ; nor is it strange that a  
person of Mr. Toland's profession should grace his scheme with  
a passage so much to his purpose, I mean of abolishing the  
doctrines of Christianity, which are agreed upon by all Chris-  
tians, and introducing his most ridiculous and impious scheme  
of Nazarene, or Jewish, or Ebionite, or Mahometan, or (which  
is the undoubted truth) of no Christianity at all. Did Mr.  
Toland and his friends, in these their vile attacks upon so ex-  
cellent and divine a constitution, not quibble and juggle, and

<sup>k</sup> Nazaren. p. 35.

prevaricate, as they upon all occasions do, in their citations out of the old records of Christianity, (a crime which they are ever forward to charge upon others, who are much more clear of it,) I should excuse myself and the reader from the trouble of any remarks upon them, leaving them to their slavish infidelity: but when I observe a person ransacking and mustering together all the silly trumpery of the ancient heretics, grossly misrepresenting the books he cites, only with design to satisfy a bigotted humour against the Christian religion, I am obliged, by my regards to the profession I make of the name of Jesus, to lay open such vile imposture. Of this I have given several instances already from Mr. Toland's books. The passage I am now upon out of Epiphanius furnishes me with another. He would persuade us, the Ebionites or Nazarenes (a most ridiculous sort of heretics, who scarcely deserved the name of Christians, as I shall shew hereafter) "were the only true and "genuine Christians, consequently their books must be the "truest and most genuine accounts of the Christian affairs;" and so for instance must these Acts, which we are now discussing; because it so much vilifies St. Paul, and exposes his doctrine. But, as Dr. Mangey<sup>1</sup> has justly remarked, "this is "most insupportable impudence in him to cite as genuine a "wretched forgery of the Ebionites." One can scarce tell, whether his intention of vilifying St. Paul, or the method he useth to do so, be the more detestable: this sorry unbelieving critic governs his skill by his wicked principles, and has no other way to judge of spurious and genuine books, than their opposition to Christianity. Had this learned writer examined the passage in Epiphanius, I doubt not he would have remarked more of Mr. Toland's insincerity in this matter; for that father, who is the only person that has mentioned this apocryphal book, does almost in every sentence reject it as a gross and notorious forgery. Hence we meet with the words πολλὰ ἀσεβείας ἔμπλεα ὑποτίθενται, πολλὰ κενοφρονίας ἔμπλεα, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ἐπιπλάστοις τισὶ τῶν ψευδαποστόλων κακοουγίας, καὶ πλάνης λόγοις πεποιημένοις, &c. which are all to this purpose; "that these Acts "of the Ebionites were full of impious opinions, forged, silly, "and ridiculous, counterfeited by the imposture and wicked-

<sup>1</sup> Remarks on Nazaren. c. 10. p. 83.



“ness of false apostles,” &c. But all this Mr. Toland saw it proper to suppress. To have transcribed Epiphanius's account of the book, he was well aware, would have spoiled the credit of it, seeing he is the only writer, as I said, who has mentioned it; besides, it would have spoiled his own book, and so have touched him in the tender point of interest, if he had published this judgment of Epiphanius concerning the Ebionites and their books. Though therefore his design against Christianity be so notorious, and his method of executing it so unfair, yet the violence of the temptation was great. But I leave him.

These Acts of the Ebionites were certainly apocryphal, being  
 1. *never heard of, nor read, nor received by any but those false sort of half Christians, called Ebionites.* Prop. IV. V. and VI.  
 2. *It appears to have contained things contrary to known and certain truths.* Such is the reason there given for Paul's preaching against justification by the ceremonial law, viz. “his being exasperated against the Jews on account of his disappointment in a marriage with the high priest's daughter;” for if this be true, then the whole of Paul's doctrine must be false, as not proceeding from God, but from the revengeful humour and rage of a disappointed lover. But this is contrary to the substance of Christianity, which has been proved to be true by Prop. II. Coroll. 2. and the book therefore apocryphal by Prop. VIII. and Coroll. Again, though I have not indeed yet proved the truth of our canon, yet what I have said Prop. II. is sufficient to give a credit to it superior to this spurious piece; and if so, it is certainly apocryphal, because it contradicts several things therein, viz. *when it asserts Paul to be of Gentile parentage*, both in respect of father and mother, when as himself expressly declares the contrary more than once. So Acts xxiii. 6. *I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee*; Rom. xi. 1. *I am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin*; 2 Cor. xi. 22. *Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I.* And once more, more fully; Phil. iii. 5. *I was circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews*; which last words are a full demonstration that his parents were both Jews, as Mr. Selden<sup>m</sup> has

<sup>m</sup> De Jur, Natur, et Gentium, lib. 2. c. 4.

well proved, and the Greek construction will most properly bear <sup>n</sup>. And this will lead me to another instance of the spuriousness of these Acts, viz. *that they represent Paul as becoming a proselyte, and being circumcised on account of obtaining the priest's daughter*, when as he was circumcised the eighth day, and consequently never was a Jewish proselyte.

Nº. XVIII. *The Gospel of the Ebionites.*

THIS appears evidently to have been either altogether, or very near, the same with the Gospel of the Nazarenes; and therefore I shall refer the discussing it to its proper place under the letter N. where I shall distinctly consider its variations from, or agreement with, the famous Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, and produce all its fragments.

CHAP. XVIII.

*No peculiar Gospel of the Encratites. The Gospel of Eve a forgery of the Gnostics.*

Nº. XIX. *The Gospel of the Encratites.*

IN this title I have followed Mr. Fabritius<sup>o</sup>, and many others, though I confess it does not appear from any thing, which I have observed, that there ever was any Gospel called by this name. The passage that learned writer produces out of Epiphanius is in *his account of the Tatianites, or followers of Tatian, and their heresy*, (Hæres. 46.) and not in *his account of the Encratites*; of whom he treats as a distinct sect in the next book, viz. Hæres. 47. It is true, and appears evidently from Irenæus<sup>p</sup>, Eusebius<sup>q</sup>, and Epiphanius<sup>r</sup>, that the Encratites and Tatianites agreed very much in the same principles, but it is as true also, they had some different principles; and therefore perhaps they might not receive the same gospel. Besides, the Encratites were a sect formed, as Irenæus<sup>s</sup> says, by Saturninus and Marcion, who lived before Tatian, who only built upon their foundation, and made some additions of his own; as that *concerning the damnation of Adam, which was*

<sup>o</sup> So in Xenophon we read *ἡ βασιλικὴ βασιλιεύειν*. Orat. de Agesil. c. 1. §. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Cod. Apocr. N. Test. tom. 1. p. 349. Vid. Feu-ardent. in Iren. lib. 3. c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Adv. Hæres. lib. 1. c. 30, 31.

<sup>q</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 28, 29.

<sup>r</sup> Hæres. 46, 47.

<sup>s</sup> Loc. jam cit.

not received by the ancient Encratites. It is therefore not just, to entitle the Gospel of Tatian and his followers thus; wherefore I shall refer the discussion of it to its proper place under the title of Tatian, Numb. LXI.

### No. XX. *The Gospel of Eve.*

THIS apocryphal Gospel has been observed by several modern writers, though, I believe, only by Epiphanius among the ancients. It does not appear so much as named in the writings of Irenæus, or Clemens Alexandrinus; nor is it either in Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, or Gelasius's catalogues of the apocryphal books of the New Testament. Epiphanius, in his heresy of the Gnostics<sup>t</sup>, gives the following account and fragments of it.

Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐπί-  
κλαστον εἰσάγουσιν ἀγώγιμόν τι  
ποίημα, ᾧ ποιητεύματι ἐπέθεντο  
ὄνομα Εὐαγγελίου τελειώσεως—  
Ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται λέ-  
γοντες Εὐαγγέλιον Εὐας· εἰς ὄνο-  
μα γὰρ αὐτῆς δῆθεν ὡς εὐρούσης,  
τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γνώσεως ἐξ ἀποκαλύ-  
ψεως τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῇ ὅπως  
σποράν ὑποτίθενται· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν  
ἀστάρῃ γνώμῃ μεθύοντες, καὶ πα-  
ρακαλοῦντες, οὐκ ἴσα εἶη τὰ ῥή-  
ματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν γέλωτι πεποι-  
ημένα, ἕτερα δὲ κλαυθμοῦ ἔμπλεα,  
οὕτως ἢ τῶν ἀπατεῶνων γέγονε  
κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, τῆς κακίας ἢ  
ὑποσπορά. Ὁρμῶνται δὲ ἀπὸ μα-  
ρῶν μαρτυριῶν, καὶ ὁπτασιῶν, ἐν  
ᾗ Εὐαγγελία ἐπαγγέλλονται. Φά-  
σκουσι γὰρ οὕτως, ὅτι ἔστιν ἐπὶ  
ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ εἶδον ἄνθρωπον  
μακρὸν, καὶ ἄλλον κολοβόν· καὶ  
ἤκουσα ὥσει φωνὴν βροντῆς, καὶ  
ἤγγισα τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ ἐλάλησε  
πρὸς με, καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ

Some of them do produce a cer-  
tain spurious and forged writing,  
which they call, The Gospel of  
Perfection—Others have the im-  
pudence to produce one called  
The Gospel of Eve; for under  
her name, as being reported to  
have received great discoveries re-  
vealed to her in her discourse  
with the serpent, they propagate  
their principles. But as the dis-  
courses of a person in drink, pre-  
tending to give advice, are ac-  
cording to his giddy fancy, not  
equal, but some of them merry,  
others melancholy, so are the  
wicked principles of these impos-  
tors. For they are led away with  
certain ridiculous testimonies and  
visions, which are in that Gospel  
which they make use of: they  
produce such as the following:  
—"I stood upon a high moun-  
tain, and saw one man very tall,  
"and another short (or lame.)  
"And I heard a voice, as it were,

<sup>t</sup> Hæres. 26. §. 2, 3.

<p>σὺ ἐγώ· καὶ ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ· καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ᾦς, ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι, καὶ ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν εἰμι ἐσκαρμένους· καὶ ὅθεν ἐὰν θέλῃς συλλέγεις με, ἐμὲ δὲ συλλέγων ἑαυτὸν συλλέγεις· καὶ ὦ τῆς τοῦ Διαβόλου ὑποσκοῦᾶς!</p>	<p>“ of a thunder, upon which I “ went nearer to hear, and he “ spake to me, saying, I am what “ thou art, and thou art what I “ am; (and again) I am what “ thou art, and thou art what I “ am; and where thou art, there “ am I, and I am in all places “ and things: and wheresoever “ thou wilt, thou shalt find (<i>ga-</i> “ <i>ther</i>) me, and in finding me, “ thou findest thyself.” Behold, the doctrine of devils!</p>
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I find no further account of this spurious Gospel among the ancients, nor indeed is there need of any more to prove it both apocryphal and a silly forgery, as father Simon<sup>u</sup> and Mr. Du Pin<sup>x</sup> have already observed. The words of the former are, “Some of this same sect, (viz. the Gnostics,) that was divided into several branches, had invented a Gospel, entituled *Εὐαγγέλιον Εὐᾶς*, The Gospel of Eve, wherein they scattered their wild conceits under the name of this woman, whom they considered as a perfect Gnostic, who had received great illuminations in the conference that she held with the serpent.” Mr. Du Pin expresses himself thus concerning it: “The Gnostics had likewise another Gospel, more infamous than the former, (viz. The Gospel of St. Philip,) which they called The Gospel of Eve; giving out, that from her they held the name of *Γνωσις*, which she had learnt from the serpent.” In which last words, either Mr. Du Pin is mistaken, or his English translator has misrepresented him, which seems very probable both here and in many other places of the English editions of those two writers. From the foregoing fragment of this Gospel out of Epiphanius it is evident, how justly these French critics pronounced it apocryphal: it appears plainly to be such by Prop. IV. V. and VI. as also by Prop. IX. *it containing things trifling and ridiculous* and plainly forged to serve the turn of those silly heretics, who so much troubled the

<sup>u</sup> Critic. Histor. of the N. Test. p. 1.  
c. 3. p. 23.

<sup>x</sup> History of the Canon, v. 2. c. 6. §.  
5. p. 126.

church in the second century. Nothing therefore can be more ridiculous, than that Mr. Toland<sup>y</sup> should, to grace his catalogue of books, which he would have received with the same authority as those of the present canon, place this among them, in the following pompous words: "Nor should we wonder at Judas's being an author, when we read of the prophetic Gospel of Eve, whom the Gnostics reckoned a patroness of their opinions," &c. For neither does the book appear to have contained any thing which looked like prophecy, nor did the Gnostics themselves pretend that Eve was its author.

## CHAP. XIX.

*The Gospel of the Hebrews. The Book of the Helkesaites, probably a forgery of Elxai. Two Fragments of it. The Gospels of Hesychius no other than ours interpolated.*

## H.

No. XXI. *The Gospel according to the Hebrews.*

THIS was without all controversy the same with the Gospel according to the Nazarenes; I shall therefore consider it under that title in the letter N.

No. XXII. *The Book of the Helkesaites.*

IN the catalogue of apocryphal books produced Part I. I produced this book as mentioned by Eusebius; which, though indeed it be true, yet it should rather have been recited among those which are mentioned by Origen; for Eusebius in the place there cited takes his account out of his homily on the eighty-second Psalm<sup>z</sup>; his words are, (speaking concerning the heretics called Helkesaites:)

Καὶ βίβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν, ἣν λέγουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἀκηκόετα ἐκείνης καὶ πιστεύοντα, ἄφεςιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἄλλην ἄφεςιν παρ' ἡν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἀφῆκε.

Besides, they produce a certain book, which they affirm to have fallen down from heaven; which they who observe and believe shall obtain the pardon of their sins; a pardon different from that which Jesus Christ bestowed.

These Helkesaites were a most ridiculous sect of Christians,

<sup>y</sup> Amyntor, p. 33.

<sup>z</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 38.

who seem to have derived their name from Elxai, or Elxæus, (who lived in the time of Trajan, viz. about the year of Christ 114,) a false prophet, who, according to Epiphanius, joined himself with the Ebionites and Nazarenes, and formed a sect, entertaining the same principles with the Essenians and Sampseans<sup>a</sup>. Epiphanius says, "they were neither Jews, nor Christians, nor heathens, but a sort of medley of each." Their principles are so ridiculous, as not to deserve transcribing. Origen, in the place cited, supposes them to have arose not long before his time; and adds, they rejected some things of every part of scripture; but allowed none of Paul's writings. As to this book, I doubt not but it was the very same of which Epiphanius speaks, that was written by Elxai, because, as he says, it pretended to inspiration, and wisdom from God, *Συνεγράψατο δὲ οὗτος βιβλίον δῆθεν κατὰ προφητείαν, ἢ ὡς κατὰ ἔνθεον σοφίαν*. It appears to have contained a sort of system of his shuffling and foolish doctrines: I shall only instance in those which regarded our Saviour and the Holy Ghost, by which it is easy to judge of the whole composure.

#### Concerning Christ. Hæres. 19. §. 4.

Πολλά ἐστὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μυθολογήματα—διαγράψαι δὲ Χριστὸν τινὰ εἶναι δύναμιν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα σημαίνει· εἰκοσιτεσσάρων μὲν σχοινίων τὸ μῆκος, ὡς μιλίων ἑνεήκοντα ἕξ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σχοινίων ἕξ, μιλίων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, καὶ τὸ πᾶχος ὁμοίως τετρατευόμενος, καὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μυθολογήματα<sup>b</sup>.

It contains many fabulous things, such as the description of Christ, viz. That he was a certain power (i. e. an invisible body) whose dimensions he asserts were as follow, viz. his height was twenty-four (*schaenia*) or Egyptian leagues, i. e. about sixty-six miles, his breadth twenty-four miles, and his thickness proportionably wonderful; so also his feet; with many other trifling accounts.

#### Concerning the Holy Ghost.

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτὸ θῆλειαν, ὅμοιον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀνδριάντος δίκην, ὑπὲρ νεφέλην, καὶ ἀναμέσον δύο ὀρέων ἐστῶς.

The Holy Ghost is of the female kind, and like Christ, as the statue of a man, reaching above the clouds, and standing between two mountains.

<sup>a</sup> Confer Hæres. 19. et §. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Concerning the word *σχοινίων*, and

its being an Egyptian measure of 600 furlongs; see Herodot. lib. 2. §. 6.

He who would read more of this ridiculous author, may consult the place of Epiphanius just cited: it is sufficient to my purpose to observe, that the book was certainly apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. VI. VIII. and IX. I have only to add, that the heretics under this name were generally of the Jewish nation, as Elxai himself, their founder, was; and therefore it is not strange, they should have thus forged immediate revelations from heaven. For about the time of this forgery, nothing was more common among the Jews than such pretences. The Jewish writers commonly say, *there were three sorts of revelations anciently among them*; the first by *Urim and Thummim*, which was in use from the erecting of the tabernacle until the building of the temple; the second, by the spirit of prophecy, from the beginning of the world, but mostly under the first temple, until the death of Malachi under the second temple; the third by *בַּת קוֹל* *bath kol*, i. e. by voices from heaven, succeeding the former, and continuing in use thenceforward; concerning which it may be well worth while to read what Dr. Lightfoot<sup>c</sup>, and after him Dean Prideaux<sup>d</sup> have wrote.

Nº. XXIII. *The Gospels of Hesychius.*

THE reason, which induced me to mention these Gospels under a distinct title, is, that I find them so mentioned in the Decree of pope Gelasius, among the rest of the apocryphal books of the New Testament, though I think it very evident, that they were no other than some interpolated copies of our present Gospels, as will appear from the authors who have mentioned them, viz.

1. Jerome, who in the preface to his translation of the Gospels into Latin, after having shewed the necessity of it, adds<sup>c</sup>:  
*Prætermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit per-versa contentio, quibus utique nec in toto Veteri Testamento post Septuaginta interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit*

I take no notice of those books which go under the names of Lucian and Hesychius, and are esteemed through the perverse humours of some. For as they were not able to make any amendments to the Septuagint version

<sup>c</sup> Hor. Hebr. in Matth. iii. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Connect. of the History of the Old

and New Test. part 2. b. 4. p. 328, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Præfat. in Evang. ad Damas.

emendasse; cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt.

in any part of the Old Testament, so neither were their amendments of the New of any value, seeing the former translations of the scripture into all the languages of the world prove their additions or interpolations to be false.

## 2. Pope Gelasius's words are<sup>f</sup>;

Evangelia, quæ falsavit Hesychius, apocrypha.

The Gospels, which were interpolated by Hesychius, are apocryphal.

From these accounts it is manifest, these Gospels of Hesychius were no other than our present canonical Gospels, with some additions of his: for as Jerome censures their work, as containing "useless amendments and additions," so the word *falsavit* in Gelasius implies the same. What these interpolations were, there is not any possibility of our conjecturing now, though I know not whether it be worth while to lament the loss of them so much as Dr. Mill does<sup>g</sup>: "It is much to be lamented," says he, "that Jerome, who is the only person that I know (besides Gelasius who transcribed from him) that has said any thing of this forgery, has given us no more clear and full account of this matter." I see not any great advantage it would have been, had these corrupt copies been preserved. It is probable enough, *what he added was no more than some idle stories out of the Gospel of the Egyptians*, it being generally thought, with good reason, that this Hesychius was that Egyptian martyr mentioned by Eusebius<sup>h</sup>, "whose Greek copies of the Old Testament were," as Jerome says, "generally received in Egypt<sup>i</sup>." This, however, is certain; these false Gospels were only received by some few persons of perverse minds, and rejected by the main body of Christians, and therefore to be esteemed apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. VI. but especially by Prop. XIV.

<sup>f</sup> In Decret.

<sup>g</sup> Prolegom. in N. Test. §. 728.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. 8. c. 13. Confer Usser. Syntag. de edit. LXX. c. 7.

and Dr. Cave Hist. Liter. vol. 1. in Hesych. p. 808.

<sup>i</sup> Epist. ad Chromat. quæ est Præfat. in lib. Paralipom.



## , CHAP. XX.

*The Book of James not the same with the Prot-Evangelium under his name. A common opinion among the ancients, that the brethren of Christ mentioned in the Gospels were Joseph's children by a wife before Mary. Other books attributed to James, which were the forgery of Leucius Charinus. The Acts and Books of John. The Gospel of Judas Iscariot.*

## I.

No. XXIV. *The Book of James.*

UNDER the name of this apostle there have been several spurious and forged pieces, of which it is not now easy to form a distinct and clear account. The title of this now under inquiry I have taken from Origen<sup>k</sup>, who in his Commentary on those words of St. Matthew, chap. xiii. 55. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James and Joses, and Simon and Judas?* has the following passage.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς Ἰησοῦ φασὶ τινες εἶναι ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον Εὐ-αγγελίου, ἢ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοῦς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναι-κὸς συναρκυίας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας.

There are some who say the brethren of Christ (here mentioned) were the children of Joseph by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary; and they are induced to this opinion by some passages in that which is entitled, The Gospel of Peter, or The Book of James.

Our learned countryman Dr. Mill<sup>l</sup>, after several others, is of the opinion, that the book of James here referred to is for the most part the same with the Prot-Evangelion under this apostle's name, which is now extant, and which I shall insert in Greek and English in the third part of this work: but I think this can hardly be proved by any good arguments, because it does not appear this Prot-Evangelion was extant until long after Origen's time, as I shall shew in the particular discussion of it. I confess I have observed in this book *an account of Joseph's having children by a former wife*; for he is introduced, cap. ix. as answering the high priest urging him to

<sup>k</sup> Orig. Op. Exeg. p. 223.

Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 274.

take the Virgin, Ἰοῦς ἔχω, καὶ πρεσβύτης εἰμι, αὐτὴ δὲ νεανίς· μή-  
πως ἴσομαι κατὰ γέλωτος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. “I have children, and  
“am an old man, but she is young, and I shall appear ridi-  
“culous in Israel.” But, notwithstanding this, it is for the  
forementioned reason probable, these two books were not the  
same; besides, Origen does not seem to have seen this book of  
James, but was uncertain whether the opinion he cites was *in*  
*that or the Gospel of Peter*; and lastly, this was a very common  
opinion among the ancients, viz. *that Joseph had children by a*  
*former wife*<sup>m</sup>, and so might very probably have been in several  
of the spurious and apocryphal pieces. And this is no  
more than what Jerome<sup>n</sup> expressly says, “Some suppose, by  
“the brethren of our Lord we are to understand Joseph’s  
“children by another wife, following the idle fancies of some  
“apocryphal books.” However this be, we have the justest  
reason to esteem this book of James to have been a spurious  
piece, and apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. VI.

No. XXV. *Some other books attributed to James.*

EPIPHANIUS, in his account of the Ebionites<sup>o</sup>, after a  
large confutation of their principles, adds:

Τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς  
τὴν τῶν ἡκατημένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν  
πειθὴ προσποιητῶς δέχονται· βί-  
βλους τε ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν πλα-  
σάμενοι ἀνεγράψαντο, δῆθεν ἀπὸ  
προσώπου Ἰακώβου, καὶ Ματθαί-  
ου, καὶ ἄλλων μαθητῶν, ἐν οἷς ὀνό-  
μασι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Ἰωάννου τοῦ  
ἀποστόλου ἐγκαταλέγουσιν, ἵνα  
πανταχόθεν φωρατὴ γένηται ἡ αὐ-  
τῶν ἄνοια.

Besides they have counterfeited  
the apostles’ names, for the bet-  
ter persuading of those, whom  
they have deluded; for they have  
forged several books, and pre-  
fixed their names to them, viz.  
the name of James, Matthew,  
and other disciples, among which  
is also the name of the apostle  
John, that their folly might ap-  
pear every where the greater.

I am not able to say any thing particular concerning these  
books, there being no fragments of them now extant; only, if  
I may conjecture, I would say, they were the same with those  
mentioned by pope Innocent I.<sup>p</sup> in his Decree concerning ca-  
nonical books.

<sup>m</sup> See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1.  
Epiphan. Hæres. 29. Nazar. et 78.  
quæ est Antidicomar. and many other  
ancients cited to this purpose by Vales.  
in Loc. Euseb. and bishop Pearson on

the Creed. Art. 3. p. 174, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Comment. in Matth. xii. 49.

<sup>o</sup> Hæres. 30. §. 23.

<sup>p</sup> Epist. 3. ad Exuper. c. 7.

Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone sanctarum scripturarum, brevis annexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo quæ desiderata moneri voce voluisti: Moysis libri quinque, &c. Cætera autem quæ vel sub nomine Matthæi sive Jacobi Minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, &c. non solum repudianda, verum noveris esse damnanda.

What books are to be received into the canon of the sacred scriptures, the annexed schedule will declare—These are they, concerning which you desired to be informed, viz. The five books of Moses, &c. But as for those which go under the name of Matthew, or James the Less, or under the name of Peter and John, which were wrote by one Leucius, know, that they are not only to be rejected, but condemned.

Whether these words will prove that Leucius was the author of these books under the name of James, or whether they only assert those ascribed to Peter and John to have been written by Leucius, is not very easy to determine. The former appeared most probable to Dr. Mill<sup>9</sup>, and perhaps not without reason, if we consider, that this Leucius was the author of a great many forgeries under the apostle's name, as will appear fully hereafter under the letter L. Although therefore there is nothing more particular known concerning these books, yet from what is said, it is plain, they were spurious, and consequently apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI. It may perhaps be objected, that Leucius cannot be supposed to be the author of these books, and consequently that Epiphanius and pope Innocent do not mean the same, because *the former says, they were forged by the Ebionites, but it does not appear that Leucius was one of this sort.* To which I shall think it enough to answer, that Leucius seems to have formed his books with design to be received by all sorts of heretics, and, therefore, mixed the peculiar principles of each most celebrated party together in them; whence, as *the incomparable and most excellent writer among the ancients*, I mean Photius, *the patriarch of Constantinople*, observes, “his forgeries are full of foolish “and silly contradictions, and he may be justly esteemed as “the source or author of every heresy<sup>r</sup>.”

<sup>9</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 336.

<sup>r</sup> Γίμει δὲ καὶ μωρίας πολλῆς, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν μάχης καὶ ἑναντιώσεως—Πά-

σης αἰεσίως πηγὴν καὶ μνῆρα. Cod. cxiv.

No. XXVI. *The Acts of John the apostle.*

OF these spurious Acts there is frequent mention in the old Christian writers, who lived within the limits of my time; but inasmuch as they appear evidently to have been the forgery of Leucius, I shall refer the consideration of them to their proper place under the name Leucius in the letter L.

No. XXVII. *Other books under the name of John.*

THESE appearing to have been composed by the same person with the former, shall be considered in the same place.

No. XXVIII. *The Gospel of Judas Iscariot.*

THIS apocryphal book is mentioned by Irenæus and Epiphanius, as peculiar to one of the most monstrous and inconsistent sects, who ever took upon them the Christian name. The account given by Irenæus is as follows<sup>s</sup>:

Alii autem rursus Cain a superiore principalitate dicunt; et Esau et Core et Sodomitas, et omnes tales cognatos suos confitentur, et propter hoc a Factore impugnatos neminem ex eis male acceptos: Sophia enim illud, quod proprium ex ea erat, abripiebat ex eis ad semetipsam. Et hæc Judam proditorem diligenter cognovisse dicunt, et solum præ cæteris cognoscentem veritatem perfecisse proditiōis mysterium; per quem et terrena et cœlestia omnia dissoluta dicunt, et confitionem afferunt hujusmodi, Judæ Evangelium illud vocantes.

But there are other heretics, who say, Cain [was delivered<sup>t</sup>] by a heavenly power, and who acknowledge Esau, Corah, and the Sodomites as their pattern (or kindred), who though they were fought against by the Creator, yet received no damage thereby: for Wisdom took from them whatever belonged to it. These things, they say, Judas, who betrayed Christ, carefully obtained the knowledge of; and as he was the only one of the apostles who knew the truth, he accomplished the mystery of betraying Christ. By him (viz. Judas) they say, all things in heaven and earth were dissolved; and agreeable to these sentiments they produce a certain forgery, which they call the Gospel of Judas.

<sup>s</sup> Adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 35.

<sup>t</sup> I supply this word out of Theodo-

ret, some word being necessary to be supplied to make the sentence perfect.

Epiphanius discoursing of these same heretics relates<sup>u</sup> much the same thing as Irenæus, and in the same mystical unintelligible language; of which he in like manner says, they affirmed Judas to have had a perfect knowledge; adding,

Καὶ τούτον γὰρ θέλουσιν εἶναι συγγενὴ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἐν γνώσει ὑπερβολῇ τὸν αὐτὸν καταριθμοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ συνταγματίον τι φέρειν ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ Εὐ-αγγέλιον τοῦ Ἰούδα καλοῦσι· καὶ ἄλλὰ τινα συγγράμματα ὡσαύτως πλάττονται, &c.

That they will have him to be their relation, and esteem him to have obtained extraordinary knowledge, inasmuch as they produce a certain book under his name, which they call the Gospel of Judas; besides, they have forged many other such writings, &c.

Mr. Toland has not failed to adorn his catalogue of books, which he would persuade us are as valuable as any now received, with the title of this Gospel<sup>x</sup>: he has introduced it thus: "That none of the apostles might be thought unable to write a Gospel, we find one alleged by the Caianites, a sect of the Gnosticks, under the name of Judas Iscariot." Artfully said indeed! A set of impious, beastly, profane wretches, abandoned to all the excesses of vice and immorality, forged a piece under the name of Judas; and this is to be ranked in the same class with those which contain the sublime doctrines and holy precepts of Christianity! But let us a little see what sort of persons these Caianites were: *They called the Creator of all things Hystera, and wrote several books against him; they affirmed, no man could be saved, who did not make trial of all sorts of vice; accordingly they reckoned it virtue to commit the most notorious immoralities and crimes; and feigning to themselves a great number of angels, they attributed to each a particular sin, which when they were about to commit, they invoked that angel's regard and patronage: they applauded the action of Judas in betraying Christ*<sup>y</sup>, &c. Such were their ridiculous sentiments; from whence it is easy to form a notion of their Gospel, and to see reason to reject it. See Prop. IV. V. VI. and especially VIII. and IX.

<sup>u</sup> Hæres. 38. §. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Amyntor, p. 33.

<sup>y</sup> He who has a mind, may read

this, and more of the same ridiculous kind, in the places of Irenæus and Epiphanius last cited.

## CHAP. XXI.

*The Acts of the Apostles under the names of Leucius, Lentitius, Leontius, and Leuthon, proved to be one and the same book, because these were all the same person's name corruptly written. They contained the Acts of John, Andrew, Thomas, Peter, Paul, James, and others. Their spuriousness proved. Leucius their author lived in the fourth century. His principles and tenets. A remark on Dr. Mill's Greek Testament. Leucius and Leonides the same name. Leonides proved to be a corrupt writing instead of Leucius. Neoxocharis or Xenocharis proved to be a corrupt way of writing Charinus, the surname of Leucius.*

Nº. XXIX. *The Acts of the Apostles by Leucius.*

Nº. XXX. *The Acts of the Apostles by Lentitius.*

Nº. XXXI. *The Acts of the Apostles by Leontius.*

Nº. XXXII. *The Acts of the Apostles by Leuthon.*

Nº. XXXIII. *The books of Lentitius.*

**E**ACH of these differing titles being to be found in the ancient writings, I thought it most agreeable to my design to produce them distinctly, though they are unquestionably only mistaken writings of the same person's name, viz. Leucius. I shall, according to my method, first produce the places, and then form the best judgment of them which I can. The first is that of,

I. St. Austin, who gives the following account of the Acts under the Apostles' names written by Leucius, received by the Manichees<sup>z</sup>.

Multum apparet imperitia vestra, vel potius audacia. Attendite in actibus Leucii, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit, qualia sint, quæ accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis; quæ quum nollet marito debitum reddere, quum apostolus dixerit, uxori vir debitum reddat, similiter et uxor viro; illa supposuerit marito suo ancillam su-

Your imprudence, or rather impudence, appears very remarkable. Consider only, what sort of things you receive concerning Maximilla, the wife of Egetes, in the Acts of Leucius, which he wrote under the apostles' name. How that when she would not render due benevolence to her husband, according to the apo-

<sup>z</sup> Lib. de Fid. cont. Manich. c. 38.

am, Eucliam nomine, exornans eam, sicut ibi scriptum est, ad-versariis lenociniis et fucationibus, et eam nocte pro se vicariam supponens, ut ille nesciens cum ea tanquam cum uxore concumberet. Ibi etiam scriptum est, quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul iissent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem vult Leucius vel Deum vel certe angelum intelligi, commendaverit eas Andreæ apostolo, et perrexerit ad prætorium Egetis, et ingressus cubiculum eorum fixerit vocem muliebrem, quasi Maximillæ murmurantis de doloribus sexus fæminei, et Iphidamiæ respondentis. Quæ colloquia cum audisset Egetes, credens eas ibi esse, discesserit.

stle's command, (1 Cor. vii. 3.) *Let a man render due benevolence to his wife, and likewise the wife to the husband*, she imposed upon her husband by her maid called Euclia. For, as it is written there, she adorned her, and by artful disguises deluded her husband, by placing her in the night in her own place, so that he ignorantly lay with her as his wife. It is there also written, that when the same Maximilla and Iphidamia went together to hear the apostle Andrew, a certain handsome boy, whom Leucius will have either to have been God himself, or at least an angel, recommended them to Andrew the apostle, and having led them to the palace of Egetes, went into their bed-chamber, and feigned the voice of a woman, like Maximilla's, bemoaning the misfortunes of her sex; to which Iphidamia replied.—Which discourses when Egetes heard, believing them to be really theirs, he went away<sup>a</sup>.

## II. The same St. Austin<sup>b</sup>, disputing with Felix against the Manichees, urges against him :

Habetis hoc etiam in scripturis apocryphis, quas canon quidem catholicus non admittit, vobis autem tanto gratiores sunt, quanto a catholico canone secluduntur. Aliquid etiam inde commemorem, cujus ego auctoritate non

This you have also in the apocryphal writings, which are not admitted into the canon of the church, but are indeed so much the more esteemed by you, as they are excluded the canon of the church. I shall cite a pas-

<sup>a</sup> Something of this is referred to in the Life of Andrew. See Abdias's Hist. Apost. in vit. And. c. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Act. cum Felic. Manich. lib. 2. c. 6.

teneor, sed tu convinceris. In Actibus conscriptis a Lentitio, quos tanquam Actus Apostolorum scribit, habes ita positum: Etenim speciosa figmenta et ostentatio simulata, et coactio visibilium, non quidem ex propria natura procedunt, sed ex eo homine qui per se ipsum deterior factus est per seductionem.

sage thence, not that I regard its authority, but for your conviction. In the Acts wrote by Lentitius, which he writes as the Acts of the Apostles, you find the following words:—"The specious appearances and delusive pomp, and the influence of the things that are seen, do not proceed from nature, but from that man, who through his own fault became worse by temptation."

III. The same father in his treatise of *Faith*, or *the Trinity of the Unity*, produces the same passage with no variation; only that the author's name is there written Leontius, and not Lentitius, as in the place last cited: his words are, *In actibus etiam conscriptis a Leontio, quos ipsi accipiunt, sic scriptum est; Etenim speciosa figmenta, &c.*<sup>c</sup> Whence it is evident, that these two names denote the same person; not that he was anciently known by both these names, but through the ignorance or inadvertency of latter scribes, when they found the name Leucius contractedly wrote thus, *L.* or *Lus.* according to the old way in manuscripts, they substituted either Leucius, Lentitius, or Leontius, according to their own fancy.

IV. Jerome, or whoever was the author of that famous Epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus under his name among his works<sup>d</sup>, ascribes not only the book of the Nativity of Mary, but that called, The Acts or Passions of the Apostles, to Leuthon, as it is in my edition, or as it is in others, Seleucus, who was the same as Leucius, as has been often observed; see Casaubon<sup>e</sup>, Fabritius<sup>f</sup>, and others; and so Dr. Mill assures us, the manuscript copies still have the name Leucius, and neither Leuthon nor Seleucus: so that I may now set down the words of the Epistle under Jerome's name.

Sed factum est, ut a Manichæi discipulo, nomine Leucio, qui etiam gesta Apostolorum falso

But it is certain that this book was published, &c. by a disciple of Manichæus, whose name was

<sup>c</sup> Lib. de Fid. cont. Manich. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Epistol. 82. par. 2. tract. 6. fol. 140.

<sup>e</sup> Exercit. 1. ad Appar. Baron.

Annal. 15. N°. 39.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Apoc. Nov. Testam. p. 137. par. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 336.



sermone conscripsit, hic liber Leucius, who also wrote a false  
editus, &c. account, entitled, The Acts of  
the Apostles.

Hence it is evident there were certain Acts under the apostles' names wrote by Leucius. It remains now, that we more particularly make inquiry what those Acts were.

To me it seems certain, *they were the very same with those apocryphal Acts which are so often mentioned by the ancient writers, as forged under the names of John, Andrew, and Thomas*, and perhaps two or three more. I shall make good my assertion by these following reasons:

1. *From the express testimony of Photius*, that most accurate and judicious critic, who had read the books, and asserts, that *they manifested Leucius Charinus to be their author*<sup>h</sup>.

Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον, αἱ λεγόμεναι  
τῶν Ἀποστόλων περίοδοι, ἐν αἷς  
περιείχοντο πράξεις Πέτρου, Ἰω-  
άννου, Ἀνδρέου, Θωμᾶ, Παύλου.  
Γράφει δὲ αὐτάς, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ αὐτὸ  
βιβλίον, Λεύχιος Χαρίνος.

I read the book which is called  
the Acts of the Apostles, among  
which are contained the Acts of  
Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas,  
Paul; the writer of which, as ap-  
pears plainly from the book, was  
Leucius Charinus.

2. *From the Decree of pope Innocent*<sup>i</sup>, in which several books under these apostles' names are joined together, as wrote by this same Leucius; *Cætera quæ sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt*, &c. "As to the  
"other books under the name of John, which were written by  
"one Leucius," &c. See the passage at large above, N<sup>o</sup>. XXV.

3. St. Austin, who says the Manichees made their citations out of the Acts of the Apostles written by Leucius, in the places just now cited; in another book<sup>k</sup> says, "they made  
"their citations out of some apocryphal pieces under the  
"names of Andrew and John."

4. *They were received by several heretics, who agreed in many of the same impious principles*. This is evident by the table which I have composed of this agreement in Chap. V. of

<sup>h</sup> Cod. cxiv.

<sup>i</sup> Epist. 3. ad Exuper. Episcop. To-  
los. c. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Sane de apocryphis iste posuit

testimonia, quæ sub nominibus apo-  
stolorum Andreæ, Johannisque con-  
scripta sunt. Contr. Advers. Leg. et  
Proph. lib. 1. c. 20. in init.

this part, and the authors there cited, who mention the Acts of Andrew and John together, as received by the Manichees, Encratites, Apostolicks, or Apotacticks, and Origenians.

These therefore appearing so evidently to be the same, I shall in the next place produce the places where they are mentioned, viz.

### 1. By Eusebius<sup>1</sup>.

Ἰν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν—τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφερομένας, ἧτοι ὡς Πέτρου, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Ματθαίου, ἢ καὶ τινων ἄλλων παρὰ τούτους Εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας, ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἠξίωσεν· πόρρω δέ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ, ἢ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις, πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδόξιας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ παρατητέον.

That we may know—the books published by the heretics under the apostles' names, such as the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and some others, and also the Acts of Andrew and John and some other apostles, which were never esteemed valuable enough to be cited in the works of any ecclesiastical writer: besides, the phraseology of them is very different from the apostles' style; and withal, the doctrines and sentiments, which they contain, are so very opposite to the orthodox faith, as evidently to demonstrate that they are the forgeries of heretics, and so not only to be looked upon as spurious, but to be utterly rejected as absurd and impious.

### 2. By Athanasius<sup>m</sup>.

Τῆς νέας Διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα. Περίοδοι Πέτρου, περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, περίοδοι Θωμᾶ, Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶ, διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων, Κλημέντια — παραγεγραμμένα δέ εἰσι πάντως, καὶ νόθα, καὶ ἀπόβλητα. Καὶ οὐδὲν τού-

The apocryphal books of the New Testament are these: The Acts of Peter, the Acts of John, the Acts of Thomas, the Gospel according to Thomas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the books under Clement's name. They are

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>m</sup> In Synops. or whoever was the author of that ancient book.

των τῶν ἀποκρύφων μάλιστα ἔγκριτον ἢ ἰσχυροῦς, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς νέας Διαθήκης· ἀλλὰ πάντα, δίχα τῶν ἀνωτέρω διαληφθέντων καὶ ἐγκριθέντων παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ πατέραςιν, ἀποκρυφῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγνώσεως ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀξία· τάτε ἄλλα, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ καλούμενα ἐν αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγέλια, ἐκτὸς τῶν παραδοθέντων ἡμῖν τεσσάρων τούτων.

all false, spurious, and to be rejected. And none of those apocryphal books of the New Testament have been either approved, or are useful; but they have all been judged apocryphal (i. e. rather worthy to be concealed than read) by the ancient wise men and fathers, which contain any thing contrary to the books above recited<sup>n</sup>; as also all other Gospels, besides those four delivered to us.

### 3. By Philastrius<sup>o</sup>.

E quibus sunt Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaitæ, Valentiniiani, et alii quamplurimi, qui apocrypha apostolorum, i. e. separatos Actus habentes, canonicas legere scripturas contemnunt — scripturæ autem absconditæ. i. e. apocrypha, etsi legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non legi debent ab omnibus, quia non intelligentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt, quæ voluerunt hæretici. Nam Manichæi apocrypha beati Andræ Apostoli, i. e. Actus quos fecit veniens de Ponto in Græciam, quos conscripserunt discipuli tunc sequentes apostolum; unde et habent Manichæi et alii tales, Andræ beati et Joannis Actus evangelistæ, beati et Petri similiter Apostoli, et Pauli pariter Apostoli; in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut et canes et bestię loquerentur, etiam et animas hominum tales velut canum

Among whom are the Manichees, Gnosticks, Nicolaitans, Valentinians, and many others, who having some apocryphal books under the apostles' names, i. e. some distinct Acts, despise the canonical scriptures as not worthy to be read: but these secret, i. e. apocryphal scriptures, though for the conduct of life they ought to be read by the more able Christians, yet ought not to be read by all, because the ignorant heretics have added and taken away many things, according to their own fancies. For the Manichees [make use] of apocryphal books under the name of St. Andrew the apostle, i. e. the Acts which he did in his journey from Pontus to Greece, which the disciples, who followed that apostle, wrote: so also the Manichees and other such [heretics] have the Acts of St. Andrew and John the evan-

<sup>n</sup> He refers to the catalogue he had given before of canonical books.

<sup>o</sup> Hæres. 40. cui titul. apocryphi.

et pecudum similes imputaverunt  
esse hæretici perdit.

gelist; also of St. Peter the apostle, and the apostle Paul; in which, because they wrought many miracles, such as making dogs and beasts to speak, those wretched heretics imagined the souls of men to be like the souls of dogs and beasts.

4. By Epiphanius P, speaking concerning the Encratites.

Κέχρηται δὲ γραφαῖς πρωτοτύ-  
πως ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἀνδρέου καὶ  
Ἰωάννου πράξεσι, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ  
ἀποκρύφοις τισί.

They principally made use of those scriptures, which were called the Acts of Andrew, and John, and Thomas, and some other apocryphal pieces.

The same author, in the heresy of the Apotacticks and Origenians, says, they made use of the same book; the passages are produced above, in the place referred to in the margin 9.

5. By pope Gelasius 1.

Libri omnes quos fecit Lentitius,  
seu Leucius, filius Diaboli, apocryphi.

All the books which were made by Lentitius, or Leucius, that son of the Devil, are apocryphal.

These are all the places which I have observed, in which these apocryphal Acts are expressly mentioned by name: there are indeed some other places where they are referred to, but not named, as I shall shew in the end of this chapter; and only add here some account of their author Leucius, and some reasons for rejecting his books.

Concerning Leucius I have met with very little, besides what has been produced above, in any writers within the limits of my time. Pacianus, a writer of the fourth century, mentions one Leucius, whom the Montanists falsely asserted to be a great promoter of their heresy<sup>s</sup>; accordingly Dr. Gabet<sup>t</sup>, and Dr. Mill<sup>u</sup>, supposing Pacianus to speak of the same Leucius, of whom I am now writing, conclude, *he lived in the second century, viz. says Dr. Mill, about the year of Christ 140, i. e. a little before the rise of the Montanists, who pretended to be encouraged by him.* The said doctor adds, “that Leucius

<sup>p</sup> Hæres. 47. §. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Part 2. c. 5.

<sup>r</sup> In Decret.

<sup>s</sup> Epist. 1. ad Sympron. in init.

<sup>t</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 78.

<sup>u</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 334.

“ was a follower of Marcion, who lived in the second century, “ and had the same peculiar doctrines which are ascribed to “ Lucianus, who was a companion of Marcion<sup>x</sup>, and therefore “ that he probably was the very same person as Lucianus, who “ was most certainly a remarkable interpolator of the canonical “ Gospels, and a forger of apocryphal Gospels<sup>y</sup>.”

This conjecture, I confess, shews not only much learning and ingenious criticism, but at first view seems very probable; but upon a strict inquiry will, I believe, appear to be groundless: for,

1. Leucius, of whom I am writing, the author of these apocryphal Acts now under consideration, was a Manichee; so he is expressly called by St. Austin and pope Gelasius, “ and his “ spurious writings contained the peculiar favourite doctrines<sup>z</sup> “ of the Manichees:” now it is a matter well known, that the Manichees were not in being till the<sup>a</sup> time of Aurelius Probus, or Dioclesian, i. e. not till the latter end of the third century; wherefore it is evident, either that the Montanists were mistaken in saying Leucius was a favourite of their sect, which are indeed the words of Pacianus, (*Phryges animatos se a Leucio mentiri*,) or else the Leucius there mentioned must be a different person from him of that name, of whom we are speaking; or else, which perhaps may be the truth of the case, the word *animatos* means the *reviving* or *encouraging their principles*, and not, as Dr. Mill thinks, the first spreading of them. Whichever it be, it is plain, Leucius did not live before the latter end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century after Christ; and consequently, that Leucius and Lucianus were really different persons, who lived at above an hundred years distance from each other.

2. Whereas Dr. Mill says, Leucius was the follower of Marcion as well as Lucianus, and therefore probably the same person, living in the second century, and for this cites Photius, Cod. 114. “ This, I aver, is utterly false,” there being no such thing said in that place of Photius, nor the name of Marcion so much as mentioned there. But that learned doctor seems

<sup>x</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 334.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. loc. plur. in hoc capite citata.

<sup>z</sup> Phot. Bibl. Cod. 114.

<sup>a</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem says, the Manichees arose seventy years before him, p. 141.

to have been led into this mistake for want of consulting Photius himself, and by misunderstanding the following words of Dr. Grabe<sup>b</sup>. *Leucius, Marcionis successor, Secul. II. cujus actus summam perstrinxit Photius*, Cod. 114. The reason of my mentioning this is, to give the reader a specimen of Dr. Mill's negligence in citations, which is but too visible in other parts of his famous work on the New Testament: as for instance, I remember, somewhere he collects a various reading from the Syriac version, whereas that most perfectly agrees in that place with our present Greek: but the doctor, either not understanding the Syriac language, or not consulting it, made only use of the Latin translation of the Syriac, which indeed is in that place faulty, and not only different from the Greek, but its original, viz. Syriac.

3. As to the agreement of the sentiments of Leucius and Lucianus, which the doctor urges to prove them to have been the same persons, it is easily answered, that Leucius *adopted into his scheme the principles of most of the former heretics*, as I have above shewed out of Photius, and will appear more fully hereafter; and therefore nothing can be concluded hence to prove Leucius to have been the same with Lucianus, or to have lived in the second century.

Leucius therefore living in the fourth century, we are from the writers of that later age to take all our accounts of him; and indeed we do not find his name in any one before Austin, Jerome, and Philastrius, who all lived towards the latter end of that age. He seems to me to have been the father of those heretics, who are called by St. Austin<sup>c</sup> Seleuciani, from his name Seleucus, (which I above proved to be the same name with Leucius,) who were also called Hermiani. *They held, that the world was not made by God, but co-eternal with him; that God did not make men's souls, but angels, out of fire and air; that Christ does not sit at the right hand of the Father in a human body, but that he lodged his body in the sun according to that, Psalm xix. 4. He hath set his tabernacle in the sun. They deny any future resurrection, and place it only in the daily procreation of children.* These seem to have been the followers of this heretic, and these his principles,

<sup>b</sup> Spicileg. Patr. torn. 1. p. 78.

<sup>c</sup> De Hæres. Num. 59. T. Opp. 6.

if he may be said to have had any, who received those of all sects.

As to these Acts, published by Leucius, there needs little more to be said to prove them spurious. They are asserted to be so by all who mention them, and rejected as monstrous and impious forgeries: apocryphal therefore by Prop. IV. V. and VI. I add also by Prop. VIII. and IX. as containing things false and fabulous, trifles contrary to truth; such are those stories of Maximilla and Iphidamia, in the fragment produced out of St. Austin; *such especially is that in the same fragment, of God's appearing in the form of a little boy, and feigning the voice of a woman*: such, lastly, is that mentioned by Philastrius, *that the souls of men were like the souls of dogs and beasts*. Thus much may be sufficient concerning these apocryphal Acts; of which I should now add no more, if I did not think it would be as entertaining to my readers, as myself, to transcribe the judgment of Photius concerning them, who, though a writer of the ninth century, well deserves regarding, not only because he had read the book, but that his judgment is always valuable. After he had said he perused these Acts, and that they appeared to be wrote by Leucius Charinus, he adds, (Cod. 114.)

Ἡ δὲ θράσις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀνὴρ-  
μαλὸς τε καὶ παρηλλαγμένη. Καὶ  
συντάξεσι γὰρ καὶ λέξεσι κέχρηται  
ἐνίοτε μὲν οὐκ ἡμελημέναις, κατὰ  
δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀγοραίοις καὶ πε-  
πατημέναις. Καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς ὁμα-  
λῆς καὶ αὐτοσχεδίου φράσεως, καὶ  
τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφύτου χάριτος, καθ'  
ἣν ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς τε καὶ ἀποστολι-  
κὸς διαμεμόρφωται λόγος, οὐδ' ἴχ-  
νος ἐμφαίνων. Γέμει δὲ καὶ μω-  
ρίας πολλῆς, καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν  
μάχης καὶ ἐναντιώσεως. Φησὶ γὰρ  
ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεόν,  
καὶ κακὸν, οὗ καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν  
Μάγον ὑπηρέτην καθεστάναι, ἄλ-  
λον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν, ὃν φησιν ἀγα-

The style of it is irregular and inconsistent. He uses phrases and words sometimes, which are not mean, but for the most part such as are bald and common. There is not in it the least sign of an even free style, or of that beauty that attends such a natural style, in which the writings of the evangelists and apostles are composed. It abounds with many foolish and silly contradictions. For he says, *that the God of the Jews, whose minister Simon Magus was, was a bad God, and that Christ was a different God from him, and a good God*: and then again perverting and confounding every

θόν· καὶ φυχῶν ἅπαντα καὶ συγ-  
 χίων, καλεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ  
 υἱόν· λέγει δέ, μὴδ' ἐνανθρωπήσαι  
 ἀληθῶς, ἀλλὰ δόξαι· καὶ πολλὰ  
 πολλάκις φανῆναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς,  
 νέον, καὶ πρεσβύτερον πάλιν, καὶ  
 πάλιν παῖδα<sup>c</sup>, καὶ μείζονα, καὶ  
 ἐλάττωνα, καὶ μέγιστον, ὥς τε τὴν  
 κορυφὴν διήκειν, ἔσθ' ὅτε μέχρ' ἰς  
 οὐρανοῦ. Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 σταυροῦ κενολογίας καὶ ἀτοπίας  
 ἀναπλάττει, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ  
 σταυρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἕτερον αὐτ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ, καὶ καταγελαῖν διὰ τοῦτο τῶν  
 σταυροῦντων. Γάμου δὲ νομίμου  
 ἀθετεῖ, καὶ πᾶσαν γένεσιν πονηράν  
 τε καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ λέγει. καὶ  
 πλάστην τῶν δαιμόνων ἄλλον ἐκ-  
 κληροῖ· νεκρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ  
 βοῶν καὶ κτηνῶν παραλογωτάτας  
 καὶ μεираκιῶδεις τερατεύεται ἀνα-  
 στάσεις. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνων  
 τοῖς εἰκονομάχοις ἐν ταῖς Ἰωάννου  
 πράξεσι δογματίζειν· καὶ ἀπλῶς  
 αὕτη ἡ βίβλος μυρία παιδαριώδη  
 καὶ ἀπίθανα καὶ κακόπλαστα καὶ  
 ψευδῆ καὶ μωρὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μαχό-  
 μενα, καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄθεα περιέχει.  
 ἦν εἰκὼν τις πάσης αἰρέσεως πηγὴν  
 καὶ μητέρα, οὐκ ἂν ἀποσφαλεῖν  
 τοῦ εἰκότος.

thing, he calls the Father and the Son one and the same: but he adds, that Christ was not really a man, but only appeared to be so, and that he appeared often in various shapes to his disciples, sometimes as a young man, sometimes again as an old man, and sometimes as a child; sometimes larger, sometimes less; sometimes so tall, as that his head would reach up to the heavens. Besides, he has invented many idle and ridiculous stories about the cross; and that Christ was not crucified himself, but another in his stead, for which he laughed at the crucifiers. He denies the use of lawful marriages, and makes all generation to be evil, and from the Devil. He supposes another creator of the devils. He held a most prodigiously absurd sort of resurrection, both of men and oxen, and all cattle. He seems also in the Acts of John with the [Iconomachi] enemies of images, to dispute against the use of them<sup>f</sup>. In a word, that book contains ten thousand childish, incredible, ill-designing, lying, foolish, contradictions, profane and impious stories; so that one may not unjustly say, he was the source and author of every heresy.

\* Dr. Mill supposes a fragment of these Acts extant in a manuscript in the Bodleian, Cod. Barocc. n. 180. fol. 111. For in that, Christ is said sometimes to have appeared in the form of a boy.

<sup>f</sup> This passage inclines me to conjecture, that these books were interpo-

lated, seeing in the time of Leucius, the controversy about images was unknown, it not arising until the eighth century. But perhaps Photius, living in the time when this dispute was hot, might imagine more than Leucius intended. He only says, *Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνων*, &c.



Besides the above-cited places of the fathers, where these Acts are expressly mentioned, they seem to be referred to in that passage of Epiphanius above produced, No. XXV. where speaking of the Ebionites, he says, "among other apostles' names they counterfeited the names of Matthew, James, and also John;" as also in that of St. Austin in his dispute against the anonymous author (whether Marcionite or Manichee, or both, is not certain) whom he calls, "the enemy of the law and the prophets:" in that book, against which he writes, he says, the author

*De apocryphis posuit testimonia, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum Andreæ Joannisque conscripta sunt; quæ si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesia, quæ ab illorum temporibus per episcoporum successiones certissimas, usque ad nostra et deinceps tempora perseverat.*

Made citations out of the apocryphal books under the names of the apostles Andrew and John; which, if they were really theirs, would have been received by the church, which has continued under an uninterrupted succession of bishops, from their time to ours, &c.

There can scarce be any reason to doubt, but these were the same Acts which were composed by Leucius, if we consider what is above said, as also that they are the same mentioned in the Decree of pope Innocent I.<sup>b</sup>

*Cætera autem, quæ sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Nexocharide et Leonide philosophis; non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.*

But the other books under the name of Peter and John, which were written by one Leucius, or under the name of Andrew, which were written by Nexocharides and Leonides philosophers; know, that they are not only to be rejected, but condemned.

I confess, in this Decree the books of Andrew, and those of Peter and John, are made different, as wrote by different authors, viz. the latter by Leucius, and the former by Leonides and Nexocharides: but nothing is more probable than the conjecture of Mr. Fabritius, "that Innocent was mistaken in these names, and that they were no other than the name of Leucius Charinus corruptly written." It seems to me to be ac-

<sup>a</sup> Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. lib. 1. cap. 20. T. Opp. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Exuper. 3. c. 7.

counted for, by considering the contracted way of writing formerly, which has produced an infinite variety of such mistakes by ignorant and careless scribes, especially in proper names: for the name Leucius being contractedly written thus *L.* or *Lus.* by one scribe, might by another scribe be read, and accordingly written in his copy, Leonides, by the easy mistake of the letter *u* for the letter *n*, which are much alike in many writings. This we are sure was the case, in respect of the name Leontius, which was another name for Leucius in some copies, as I have above observed. As to the name Nexocharis, or, which is the better reading, Xenocharis, I am inclined to think, that it was by some blundering scribe formed from, or written for, Charinus, the surname of Leucius, in the following manner. Before the name Charinus, contractedly written in some Greek book thus  $\chi\tilde{\rho}\varsigma$ , happened to be the appellative word  $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (perhaps to denote his strange doctrines, it being commonly used by the fathers in that sense) or  $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; now an ignorant scribe, not knowing the true name of the person there spoken of, might very probably join the words  $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\chi\tilde{\rho}\varsigma$  together, and so form the name  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  Xenocharis, which must afterwards be received as a true name. This seems to me the more probable, because,

1. I do not remember ever, besides here, to have seen this name.

2. Because it is certain, that in the ancient way of writing (as is evident by manuscripts extant) *there was no distinction or space between one word and another*, but the whole line was written as one continued word.

3. *The word  $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  was very commonly prefixed to men's names*; hence we read of several called Xenophon, as those two who were the famous disciples of Socrates at Athens; Xenocrates, a philosopher of Chalcedonia, and two more remarkable philosophers of that name; so also Xenodochus, Xenodorus, Xenodotus, Xenophanes, Xenophates, Xenophilus, &c. vid. Suid. The word  $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  being so frequently prefixed, the mistake was so much the more easy.

4. Such mistakes are very common, especially in the proper names of persons and places.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The false Gospels of Lucianus, a famous critic and martyr under Dioclesian; who published an edition of the Septuagint: a different person from Lucanus, the disciple of Marcion. A correction of a place in Epiphanius. The commentaries under the name of Origen, upon Job, proved not to belong to that father.*

No. XXXIV. *The false Gospels of Lucianus.*

TO these I have, for method sake, given a distinct title, though *they appear to have been only some corrupted interpolated copies of our present Gospels*. They are only mentioned by Jerome and Gelasius together with the false Gospels of Hesychius. The places are produced above, Chap. XIX. No. XXIII. to which, and what is there said, there seems nothing necessary here to be added, but some short account of Lucianus, their author. He was undoubtedly that eminent critic, whose labours in correcting the corrupt copies of the Septuagint version have made him famous. He was a presbyter of Antioch, and suffered martyrdom under Dioclesian and Maximian, viz. about the year of Christ 296. He was so remarkable in his study of the scriptures, that the copies were called by his name; and his edition of the LXX. was the only one received in all the eastern part of the world, except that which Hesychius published in Egypt, and Eusebius and Pamphilus published from Origen<sup>i</sup>. That this was the same Lucianus with him who interpolated the Gospels, is evident from the express testimony of Jerome<sup>k</sup>, who says, “the same Hesychius” and Lucianus were employed in altering the LXX. version, “and the copies of the New Testament.” Hence it is plain, that Dr. Mill<sup>l</sup> is egregiously mistaken, in supposing *this Lucianus to have been the same person as Marcion’s disciple and follower, mentioned by Tertullian<sup>m</sup>, and called Lucanus*: for as it is certain, that Marcion, and consequently Lucanus, lived early in the second century; so from what has been said, it is no less certain that Lucianus suffered martyrdom in the very

<sup>i</sup> This account I collected from Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 9. c. 6. Jerome Catal. vir. illustr. in Lucian. et Præfat. in Paralipom. et Suidas in Lucian.

<sup>k</sup> Præfat. in Evang. ad Damas.

<sup>l</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 333.

<sup>m</sup> De Præscript. adv. Hæretic. c. 51.

end of the third. It may not therefore be improper here to observe, that the heretics called by Epiphanius<sup>n</sup> the Lucianists, and placed between Marcion and Apelles, called so from Lucian who was the disciple of Marcion, and fellow-pupil of Apelles, were either falsely so called by Epiphanius, or else our printed copies of that author are corrupt, and we ought to read Λουκανιστοί instead of Λουκιανιστοί, i. e. Lucianists instead of Lucianists, as proceeding from Lucanus, as he is called by Tertullian in the place just now cited, and also by Origen in his book against Celsus<sup>o</sup>, though in the old Latin translation we meet with Lucianus, contrary to the Greek. I have nothing more to add here, but that by accident I observed a passage in the Commentary under the name of Origen, upon the book of Job, where mention is made of Lucianus, with a very glorious character<sup>p</sup>; but inasmuch as it is most undeniable that Origen died long before the time of Lucianus, viz. in the year of Christ 253, under the emperors Gallus and Volusianus<sup>q</sup>, there is no question to be made, but those books upon Job were wrote by some person long after Origen's time.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Books under the name of Matthew. The Gospel of Matthias. The traditions of Matthias. All its Fragments produced. There never was any book under this title. The sentiments of late writers concerning these traditions. Some books ascribed to Matthias. The Acts of the Manichees.*

#### M.

Nº. XXXV. *Books under the name of St. Matthew.*

**EPIPHANIUS**, concerning the Ebionites, says, they forged several books under the apostles' names, and particularly under St. Matthew's. The passage is produced above, Chap. XX. Nº. XXV. There being nothing more said by Epiphanius of these books, nor indeed by him or any other author, of any spurious books under this apostle's name, besides the Gospel of the Nazarenes, I have no more to say concerning these books, than that, as they are rejected by this father as spurious, so for

<sup>n</sup> Hæres. 43, 44.  
<sup>o</sup> Lib. 2. p. 77.

<sup>p</sup> Opp. Lat. t. 2. fol. 27.  
<sup>q</sup> Catal. vir. illustr. in Origen.

that reason they are apocryphal, as also by Prop. IV. V. VI. and perhaps what he here means was no other than the Hebrew Gospel of the Ebionites or Nazarenes.

Nº. XXXVI. *The Gospel of Matthias.*

ALTHOUGH there be not any remains of this Gospel now extant, yet it is taken notice of by several of the most celebrated writers among the ancients, viz. Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose, and Jerome, as also in some copies of pope Gelasius's Decree.

Origen mentions it among many other spurious pieces, thus<sup>r</sup>:  
Ecclesia quatuor habet Evangelia, The church receives only four  
hæreses plurima. Scio Evange- Gospels, the heretics many. I  
lium quod appellatur—juxta know one, which is called *the*  
Matthiam, &c. *Gospel according to Matthias.*

[See the passage at large above,  
Chap. VII. Nº. V.]

Eusebius ranks it among the books *published by the heretics, not received nor cited by any ecclesiastical writer, but a mere forgery, to be rejected as impious and absurd.* [See the place produced at large above, Chap. XXI. Nº. XXXIII.]

Ambrose in like manner places it *among those spurious books which the church rejected as such.* [See the passage at large above, Chap. VII. Nº. V.]

Jerome places it among the books *which gave birth to the heresies which troubled the church, and which were wrote without the spirit and grace of God.* [See the place above produced, Chap. VII. Nº. IV.]

Lastly, in some copies of the Decree of pope Gelasius, we read,

Evangelium nomine Matthiæ apocryphum.

The Gospel under the name of Matthias is apocryphal.

From all this it is easy to see, what judgment we are to form of this book, and to conclude it apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI. The learned Dr. Grabe<sup>s</sup>, and after him Dr. Mill<sup>t</sup>, suppose this Gospel to have been the same with the traditions of Matthias, but with very little reason, as I shall shew presently in discussing that book.

<sup>r</sup> Homil. in Luc. i. in init.

<sup>s</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Secul. 2. p. 117.

<sup>t</sup> Prolegom. in N. T. §. 337.

No. XXXVII. *The traditions of Matthias.*

THESE are only mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, in whose *Stromata* there are some fragments of them remaining, which the heretics made use of. They are collected by Dr. Grabe, and shall be here produced, with the addition of two or three more places, where these traditions are referred to.

The first is as follows <sup>u</sup>.

Καὶ Ματθίας ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι παραινῶν, Θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα, βαθμὸν τοῦτον πρῶτον τῆς ἐπέκειναι γνώσεως ὑποτιθέμενος.

So Matthias advises in his *Traditions*, (saying) *Admire the things that are present, making this to be the first step towards increase of knowledge.*

The second is <sup>x</sup>;

Λέγουσι (Νικολαῖται) γ' οὖν καὶ τὸν Ματθίαν οὕτως διδάξει, σαρκὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι καὶ παραχρῆσθαι, μὴθὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκόλαστον ἐνδιδόντα, ψυχὴν δὲ αὐξεῖν διὰ πίστεως καὶ γνώσεως.

The Nicolaitans accordingly say, that Matthias taught the following doctrine, viz. *That we are to oppose the flesh, and so to use it, as not to gratify it in any excessive pleasures, but to enlarge the soul with faith and knowledge.*

The third is <sup>y</sup>;

Ζακχαῖον τοῖνον, οἱ δὲ Ματθίαν φασὶν, ἀρχιτελώνην, ἀκηκούτα τοῦ Κυρίου καταξιώσαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, Ἰδοὺ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου δίδωμι ἐλεημοσύνην, φάναι, Κύριε, καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι.

Therefore when Zaccheus, others say it was Matthias, a chief publican, heard our Lord say, *That he was worthy for him to abide with*, he said, *Behold I give half of my goods to the poor, and if I have wronged any one, I restore to him fourfold.*

The fourth is <sup>z</sup>;

Λέγουσι δὲ ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι Ματθίαν τὸν ἀπόστολον παρ' ἑκαστα εἰρηκέναι, ὅτι ἐὰν ἐκλεκτοῦ γείτων ἀμαρτήσῃ, ἥμαρτεν ὁ ἐκλεκτός· εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ἑαυτὸν ἤγεν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ὑπαγορεύει, κατηδέσθη

But they say among the *Traditions*, that Matthias the apostle among other things said, *That if the neighbour of a believer fall into sin, the believer himself is guilty of it; for if his conduct had been agreeable to reason, [or*

<sup>u</sup> Lib. 2. p. 380.

<sup>x</sup> Lib. 3. p. 436.

<sup>y</sup> Lib. 4. p. 488.

<sup>z</sup> Strom. lib. 7. p. 748.

ἀν αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον καὶ ὁ γείτων,  
εἰς τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτῆν.

the word] *his neighbour would  
have regarded his life so much, as  
not to have fallen into the sin.*

The last is <sup>a</sup>;

Τῶν δ' αἰρέσεων αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ὀνό-  
ματος προσαγορεύονται, ὡς ἡ ἀπὸ  
Οὐαλεντίνου, καὶ Μαρκιῶνος, καὶ  
Βασιλίδου, κἀν τὴν Ματθίου αὐ-  
χῶσι προσάγεσθαι δόξαν. μία γὰρ  
ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν Ἀποστόλων  
ὥσπερ διδασκαλία, οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡ  
παράδοσις.

Of the heresies some are called  
by the name of their author, as  
that of Valentinus, and Marcion,  
and Basilides, though indeed  
they boast of *the opinions of Mat-  
thias*, viz. as favouring theirs.  
But as there was but one doc-  
trine delivered by the apostles, so  
there can be but one [true] tra-  
dition.

These are all the accounts we have of these traditions of Matthias, concerning which I will endeavour to prove two things, viz.

I. *That they were not really any book, or written collection, but only some oral traditions.*

II. *That if there was any such book, entitled the traditions of Matthias, it was certainly apocryphal.*

I. *That these traditions of Matthias were not really any book, or written collection, but mere oral traditions.* To evince this, I observe,

1. That, besides Clemens Alexandrinus in the places cited, *no writer of the four first centuries, nor indeed any other ancient writer, has so much as mentioned the name of these traditions of Matthias.* This one can scarcely imagine, if ever such a book were really extant; for then it could not but have been frequently appealed to by the Valentinians, Marcionites, and Basilides; and consequently must have been mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, or Epiphanius, in their disputes against those heretics.

2. *This seems clearly deducible from the passages themselves in Clemens Alexandrinus; in no one of which he uses either the word βιβλος, γέγραπται, or any word of that sort, which will imply any thing to have been written; but, on the other hand, in each of these places introduces his account with a*

<sup>a</sup> Eodem lib. p. 765.

plain intimation, that he looked upon them only as oral traditions. So page 478. *Λέγουσι δὲ ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι*, i. e. "They say among the traditions," i. e. It is a common tradition, or commonly said, *that Matthias taught*, &c. And for this construction I have the countenance of the Latin translator, who renders Clemens thus, *Dicunt autem in traditionibus*, inserting a comma after the word *traditionibus*, to evidence that Clemens did not there speak of any written book. So likewise in that place, page 436. *Λέγουσι γ' οὖν καὶ τὸν Ματθίαν οὕτως διδάξαι*, &c. "They, i. e. the Nicolaitans, say, that Matthias taught so," &c. Where, as there is no mention of any written book of Matthias, so there is a plain intimation, that this saying attributed to him by the Nicolaitans was a current tradition among them, as from him, in order to support their abominable doctrine of the communion of women. Once more, page 765, where he says, several heretics, *τὴν Ματθίου αὐχῶσι δόξαν*, "boasted of the opinions of Matthias," as being agreeable to theirs, he manifestly shews, they were only some traditionary and spurious opinions of that apostle; for else I know not how to understand that opposition he makes between *διδασκαλία* and *παραδόσις*; the words are *μία ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν ἀποστόλων ὥσπερ διδασκαλία, οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡ παράδοσις*, i. e. "The doctrine of the apostles in their writings cannot be different from, or contrary to, any traditionary doctrines pretending to be theirs;" in which there is implied a good argument against those heretics, viz. That their principles must be erroneous, because they were only supported by some traditionary doctrines, which, being contrary to those which were written, must of necessity be false, unless the apostles can be supposed to have preached one thing, and wrote another quite contrary.

3. It is a thing very notorious in Christian antiquity, that the heretics, not being able to maintain their perverse tenets by the written scriptures, nor to answer the arguments brought against them from them, *continually applied* not only to apocryphal forgeries, but *unwritten traditions*. By this means the unhappy Jews were deluded into the most fatal errors<sup>b</sup>: thus the Christians were deceived into a belief of the necessity of Judaism, as we read in the synodical epistle from Jerusalem<sup>c</sup>:

<sup>b</sup> Mar. vii. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Acts xv. 24.



thus the doctrine of the millennium first gained its reputation from the credulous Papias, who was so fond of tradition<sup>c</sup>: thus, in a word, a thousand ridiculous fables have received credit in the church, and even still are made use of in the church of Rome to maintain the absurdest doctrines of it, as may be seen in almost every writer against popery. From all which, with what is said above, it appears more probable, that these were some unwritten traditions, than any written book of Matthias.

To this opinion I know nothing that can, with any reason, be objected; though I am sensible, these traditions have hitherto been always esteemed as a written book by those who have taken any notice of it, as Sixtus Senensis<sup>d</sup>, Dr. Grabe<sup>e</sup>, Mr. Toland<sup>f</sup>, Mr. Fabritius<sup>g</sup>, Dr. Mill<sup>h</sup>, and Mr. Whiston<sup>i</sup>, &c. But I hope what I have urged is sufficient to prove the mistake. Dr. Grabe, Dr. Mill, and Mr. Whiston, have proposed their conjectures concerning it, which I shall here briefly examine.

Dr. Grabe<sup>k</sup> supposes it to have been the same book with that I last treated of, entitled, *The Gospel of Matthias*. His words are,

Inter Evangelia mala hæreticorum fide nominibus apostolorum supposita, Matthiæ quoque adscriptum aliquod memorat Eusebius lib. III. Hist. Eccl. c. 25. Quod idem puto esse cum παραδόσεσι traditionibus a Clemente Alexandrino memoratis; quia Evangelia scribebantur, Καθὼς παρέδσαν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ἰπηρέται γεγόμενοι τοῦ λόγου.

Among the false Gospels impiously forged under the apostles' names by the heretics, Eusebius mentions *one ascribed to Matthias*; which I suppose to be the same with the παραδόσεις, i. e. traditions mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus; because the Gospels were written as they delivered, who were from the beginning eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word.

There is nothing can be more weak than this argument, being only founded upon a word, which may be used in a very

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. p. 83. ad voc. Matthias.

<sup>e</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Secul. II. p. 117.

<sup>f</sup> Amyntor, p. 30.

<sup>g</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. t. 2.

p. 784, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 53.

et 337.

<sup>i</sup> Essay on Constitut. p. 37.

<sup>k</sup> Loc. cit.

large sense. It needs no other confutation than putting it in its proper light: it stands thus; the accounts of our Saviour's life were composed out of the traditions of those who saw his actions; therefore the traditions of Matthias were an account of our Saviour's life, or a Gospel; i. e. Christ's life was wrote by tradition, therefore there were no other traditions. This is *ludere cum vocibus*. But besides, as Mr. Fabritius well observes<sup>1</sup>, the contents of these traditions were not like the contents of a Gospel, which are always some sayings or histories of Jesus Christ, but the fragments of these traditions are of another sort, as is evident by the most cursory view of them.

Dr. Mill<sup>m</sup> follows Dr. Grabe, and supposes further, that it was one of those books, which St. Luke had respect to in the preface of his Gospel, composed and published in the following manner.

Mihi sane videntur παραδόσεις, istæ ex ore Matthiæ in Judæa prædicantis initio exceptæ fuisse a Christiano quopiam, et in libellum redactæ; cui ad majorem traditionibus istis conciliandam auctoritatem apostoli nomen præfixit auctor, quisquis ille fuerit. Cæterum cum libro isti, perinde ac cæteris διηγήσεων inserta essent, ex errore διηγητοῦ, quædam haud ἀσφαλῆ, quædam item doctrinæ Christianæ minus consona, quibus, incaute animoque non malo scriptis, abusi essent Basilidiani, Valentiniani, alique hæretici, ad suos errores stabiliendos; hinc post editionem canonicorum Evangeliorum in desuetudinem abiit, atque etiam inter libros hæreticos numeratus est.

It seems to me, that these traditions of Matthias were taken from his mouth, when he first preached in Judæa, by some Christians, and formed into a little book; to procure the greater respect to which traditions, the author, whoever he was, prefixed the name of the apostle. But as in that, as well as other accounts, viz. of Christ, through the mistake of the author, several things were inserted, neither sound, nor agreeable to the Christian doctrine, which though unguardedly wrote, and without any ill intent, the Basilidians, Valentinians, and other heretics, made a wrong use of, to establish their errors. It became disused after the publishing of the canonical Gospels, and was reckoned among the heretical books.

The same learned doctor in another place<sup>n</sup> imagines "this

<sup>1</sup> Lib. cit. p. 784.

<sup>m</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 53.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. §. 337.

“book of traditions to have been interpolated by Leucius,” and to have “received the addition of many trifling and false stories from his hand.” But as his opinion about the original of the book is not only proposed without any attempt to make it so much as probable, but appears, by what has been above said, to be false and groundless, so also is his account of the interpolations of it, as I shall shew N°. XXXVIII.

Mr. Whiston<sup>o</sup>, discoursing about Philo’s Therapeutæ, whom he takes for Christians in Egypt before the coming of St. Mark, supposes not only the Gospel of the Egyptians, but also the traditions of Matthias, to have been in use among them: but of this conjecture he has assigned no reason; and therefore I think it sufficient to my design only to inform the reader of it.

What further remains now is;

II. To shew, that if these traditions were really a book, *they were apocryphal*, which is manifest by Prop. IV. V. and VI. but especially by Prop. VIII. as it contained the principles of the most impious heretics, viz. the Nicolaitans, Carpocratians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Basilidians, &c.

#### N°. XXXVIII. *Books under the name of Matthias.*

IN the before-cited Decree of pope Innocent I. according to one edition, we read<sup>p</sup>;

Cætera quæ sub nomine Matthiæ, sive Jacobi Minoris—quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt—non solum repudianda, verum novis esse damnanda.

Other books, such as that under the name of Matthias, or James the Less—which were written by one Leucius—know, that they are not only to be rejected, but condemned.

Dr. Mill<sup>q</sup>, as I just now said, concludes from these words of Innocent, that “these were the Gospel or Traditions of Matthias, *quas falsis absurdisque narratiunculis passim interspersit hic ipse impostor Leucius*, in which the impostor Leucius scattered up and down several false and absurd stories; on the account of which Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome rejected it.” But in this the doctor is also much mis-

<sup>o</sup> Essay on Constitut. p. 37. <sup>p</sup> Epist. 3. ad Exuper. c. 7. <sup>q</sup> Loc. denuo cit.

taken; for Leucius, as has been proved, did not live till the latter end of the third century<sup>r</sup>, and consequently Origen could not reject any book on account of his interpolations. Besides, the words of Innocent are, that *Leucius wrote a book under the name of Matthias*, and not that he interpolated one already written: from all which it is evident, he speaks of some book distinct from the Gospel of Matthias, which Origen rejected, and so from the traditions also, which, according to the doctor, was the same book with the Gospel. If I were to conjecture concerning the books under the name of Matthias here mentioned, I should say, it seems probable, *they were some Acts wrote by Leucius, under that apostle's name*, for these two reasons, viz.

1. Because *Leucius wrote the Acts of many other apostles*, as may be above seen, Chap. XXI. towards the beginning.

2. Because *in some copies of the Decrees of pope Gelasius we find mention of the apocryphal Acts under the name of Matthias*.

Whatever the book was, it was certainly spurious and apocryphal (as Innocent determines) by Prop. IV. V. and VI.

Nº. XXXIX. *The Acts of the Apostles made use of by the Manichees.*

SEE concerning this in the Acts of Leucius Charinus above, Chap. XXI. where I have made it evident, these were the same with those spurious Acts composed by that notorious impostor.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

*The Gospel of Marcion no other than a copy of St. Luke's Gospel altered and interpolated by that heretic. The Gospel of Merinthus the same with the Gospel of Cerinthus.*

Nº. XL. *The Gospel of Marcion.*

IT would not be agreeable to that impartiality, which I would willingly evidence in the whole of this work, if I should omit the discussing any one book, which has been pretended to be sacred, and received as such in the first centuries after Christ.

<sup>r</sup> Chap. 21.

Such the Gospel of Marcion was, *though really no other than one of our present Gospels, wretchedly corrupted and altered by that silly heretic.* We meet with very frequent mention of this work; I shall only produce the places where it is called the Gospel of Marcion, and of these I find only two; one of Tertullian, the other of Epiphanius.

Tertullian mentions it thus<sup>s</sup>.

Contra Marcion, Evangelio scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem, quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque affingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere.

On the contrary Marcion prefixes no author's name to his Gospel, as if he might not as justly have forged a title, as have corrupted the whole body of the book.

A little further<sup>t</sup>:

Ego meum dico verum, Marcion suum: Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum, Marcion meum.

I say my [Gospel] is true; Marcion says, that *his* is so: I affirm, Marcion's is corrupted; he says that mine is.

Epiphanius<sup>u</sup> calls it more than once Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ παρὰ Μαρκίου, The Gospel of Marcion.

Now for the better understanding of this, we must observe, that Marcion is no where said to have composed any new Gospel, but only to have altered and changed some other. That which he changed and corrupted was the Gospel of St. Luke. Of this we have very large accounts from the ancients, especially Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. *He took away entirely the two first chapters of Luke*, and many other parts, as also inserted a great many things of his own, all which was designed for the propagating his silly principles. But this matter belonging rather to the history of the text than the canon, I shall here wave it; only observe, that Epiphanius hath largely collected the alterations and interpolations which Marcion made; concerning whom, and this work of his, he may be sufficiently informed, who will consult the several authors referred to in the margin<sup>x</sup>. I shall only observe further, that any thing that can be said in favour of Marcion's copies of St. Luke above our present copies, as far as they affect the cano-

<sup>s</sup> Advers. Marcion. l. 4. c. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Lib. cit. c. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Hæres. 42. in Proöm.

<sup>x</sup> Iren. adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 11, 12.

Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 4. &c.

Epiphan. Hæres. 42. Father Simon, Crit. Hist. of the New Test. part 1. c. 12. Du Pin, History of the Canon, vol. 2. ch. 2. §. 5. Dr. Mill's Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 306, 328.

nical authority of that Gospel, shall be carefully discussed in its proper place, in the last part of this work.

Nº. XLI. *The Gospel of Merinthus.*

THIS is mentioned only by Epiphanius, as 'one of those spurious Gospels, which he supposes were written in the apostles' time, and referred to by St. Luke, chap. i. 1. "as not "being a true and genuine account y." His words are,

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν  
ἵνα τινὰς μὲν ἐπιχειρητὰς δείξῃ.  
φημὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κήρινθον, καὶ  
Μήρινθον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

St. Luke, in the beginning of his Gospel by these words, *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand,* &c. does intimate, there had been many undertakers; among which I say were Cerinthus, and Merinthus, and others.

I think there is very little reason to question, but this Merinthus was the very same person with Cerinthus, of whom and whose Gospel I have above spoken, Chap. XII. Nº. X. for though Epiphanius seems in this place, and in a few lines before it, to make them two different persons, yet in the heresy of the Cerinthians<sup>2</sup> he professes himself uncertain, "whether "they were not really the same person." "The Cerinthians," says he, "are called also Merinthians, as we see by the accounts we now have; but whether this Cerinthus was also "called Merinthus, we cannot certainly determine; or whether "there was some other person called Merinthus, a fellow-labourer of his, God knows." Mr. Fabritius supposes they were the same, and that the name Cerinthus was changed into Merinthus by way of banter or reproach, the word signifying a snare. And of such changes he gives several instances, as Eudoxius called Adoxius, Photius and Photinus called Scotinus, Vigilantius called Dormitantius, Faustus Socinus called Infaustus, &c. But I think it much more probable that this diversity of name arose rather from the fault of some scribe, who read in his copy *Μήρινθος* for *Κήρινθος*, i. e. an M for a C, which letters in the old way of writing Greek were not so much unlike, but that a scribe may be supposed to mistake them.

<sup>y</sup> Hæres. 51. §. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hæres. 28. §. 8.

I need not therefore say any thing more concerning this book, than what is said above, Chap. XII.

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## CHAP. XXV.

*The Gospel of the Nazarenes or Hebrews; the most famous of all the ancient Gospels: referred to by St. Paul, and many of the primitive writers of Christianity. All the places where it is mentioned, and all the remaining fragments of it produced at large. Several histories concerning Christ, and sayings of Christ, among these fragments.*

## N.

Nº. XLII. *The Gospel according to the Nazarenes or Hebrews.*

OF all the various books of the catalogue in the first part, there is none which has been so much treated of, either by the ancients or moderns, as this has. Many have wrote concerning it; and many not only of the Romish, but Protestant writers, have exalted it to a degree of authority very near equal, I had almost said superior to some, or even any, of the canonical books of the New Testament, now received. The discussing this, therefore, is not only of the greatest necessity, but requires the greatest diligence and exactness. I shall attempt it with all the brevity and clearness I can, in the following method.

I. I shall produce all that is said of it by, and all that remains of it in, any writer of the four first centuries.

II. I will give as succinct account as I can of the opinions of later writers concerning it.

III. Prove that it was not received by any primitive writers of the church, as canonical.

IV. That it was really a spurious impious forgery, and so apocryphal.

V. Give some account of its nature, design, and authors.

N. B. First, I have above proved the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles, the Gospel of Bartholomew, and that of Cerinthus, to be the same with the Gospel of the Nazarenes; and therefore shall not need here to produce the testimonies of the ancients concerning them, but must desire the reader to look back on Chap. VII. Nº. V. Chap. X. Nº. VIII. and Chap. XII. Nº. X.

N. B. Secondly, the Gospel of the Ebionites, and that according to the Hebrews, appear so evidently to have been in the greatest part the same with this Nazarene Gospel, that as I have omitted saying any thing of them in their proper places, in the alphabet, so I shall here produce what is said concerning them, promiscuously with that which is said of the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

This premised, according to my method, I shall

I. Endeavour to *produce all that is said of it by, and all that remains of it in, any writer of the four first centuries.*

1. St. Paul, Gal. i. 6.

Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως μετα-  
τίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς  
ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἕτερον εὐ-  
αγγέλιον. ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο· εἰ μὴ  
τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς,  
καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐ-  
αγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἐὰν ἡμεῖς, ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ,  
εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ εὐηγγε-  
λισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

I marvel that ye are so soon re-  
moved from him, that called you  
into the grace of Christ, unto  
another gospel: which is not an-  
other; but there be some that  
trouble you, and would pervert  
the gospel of Christ. But though  
we, or an angel from heaven,  
preach any other gospel unto you,  
than that we preached unto you,  
let him be accursed.

I have above<sup>a</sup> attempted to prove, that St. Paul in these words had reference to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and by a further acquaintance with these Nazarenes and their Gospel, am abundantly confirmed in that conjecture; as, I persuade myself, every impartial reader will also be, that shall compare it with the following accounts.

2. By Hegesippus<sup>b</sup>, or rather Eusebius, speaking concerning  
Hegesippus.

\*Εκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγ-  
γελίου, καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ  
ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου,  
τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραί-  
ων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι.

He has also wrote [laid down]  
some things concerning the Gos-  
pel according to the Hebrews,  
and Syrians, as also concerning  
the Hebrew language, by which  
he evidences that he was con-  
verted from Judaism to Chris-  
tianity.

<sup>a</sup> Part 1. chap. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 4. c. 22.



3. By Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>c</sup>.

Κἀν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει, γέγραπται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύησεται.

And it is written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, *he who admires shall reign, and he who reigns shall be at ease.*

4. By Origen<sup>d</sup>.

Ἐὰν δὲ προσίεται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον, ἔθα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν, Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπένεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβὼρ, &c.

But if any one will receive the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in which our Saviour says, *The Holy Ghost my mother lately took me by one of my hairs, and led me to the great mountain Thabor, &c.*

5. By the same<sup>e</sup>.

Age, aliter tractemus hunc locum.—Scriptum est in Evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos; (si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud, non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis;) Dixit, inquit, ad eum alter divitem, Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit ei, Homo, legem et prophetas fac: respondit ad eum, Feci; dixit ei, Vade, vende omnia quæ possides, et divide pauperibus, et veni, sequere me. Coepit autem dives scalpere caput suum, et non placuit ei; et dixit ad eum Dominus, Quomodo dicis, legem feci et prophetas? quoniam scriptum est in lege, Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum; et ecce multi fratres filii Abrahæ amicti sunt stercore, morientes præ fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino

But let us treat this place a little otherwise:—It is written in a certain Gospel, which is entitled *according to the Hebrews*; (if any one be pleased to receive it, not as of any authority, but only for illustration of the present question;) *A certain rich man (says that Gospel) said to Christ, Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may inherit life? He said to him, O man, keep the law and the prophets: he answered him, That I have done: he said to him, Go, sell all things that thou hast, and distribute among the poor, and come and follow me. The rich man hereupon began to scratch his head, and was displeased; and the Lord said to him, How can you say that you have kept the law and the prophets? seeing it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neigh-*

<sup>c</sup> Stromat. lib. 2. p. 380.

<sup>d</sup> Tom. 2. Comment. in Joan. p. 58.

<sup>e</sup> Hom. 8. in Matt. tom. 3. p. 21. Opp. Lat.

aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conversus, dixit Simoni discipulo suo, sedenti apud se, Simon, fili Joannæ, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam divitem in regnum cœlorum.

bour as thyself; but behold, many of thy brethren, children of Abraham, are clothed with nastiness, and ready to perish for hunger, while thy house abounds with all sorts of delicacies, and nothing is sent out of it to them. And turning about, he said to his disciple Simon, who sat by him, Simon, son of Joanna, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man, &c.

I have not observed any other places besides these two, in Origen's works, where this Gospel is mentioned, though the former passage is indeed cited elsewhere<sup>f</sup>; and Jerome says, Origen cited this Gospel often<sup>g</sup>: but in this either he was mistaken, or he means in some other books of Origen's not now extant.

#### 6. By Eusebius<sup>h</sup>.

Enumerating many of those apocryphal books which he calls νόθους, i. e. spurious, or forgeries, he adds,

Ἦδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου Εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι.

In this number some have placed the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which they of the Jews, who profess Christianity, are very much delighted.

#### 7. By the same<sup>i</sup>, speaking of the Ebionites.

Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ μόνον τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίου λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον.

They made use only of that which is called, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, very little esteeming any others.

#### 8. By the same<sup>k</sup>, speaking of Papias.

Ἐκτίθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν, περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου Εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει.

He mentions another history concerning a woman accused of many crimes before our Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

<sup>f</sup> Homil. xv. in Jerem.

<sup>g</sup> Catal. vir. illustr. in Jacobo.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. c. 27.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. c. 39.

This passage is generally understood, as though Eusebius had said, that Papias made use of this Gospel; so Usher, Simon, Pearson, Grabe, &c. But that this is a mistake, I shall shew hereafter.

9. By Epiphanius, who has preserved large fragments of this Gospel; most of which are collected by Dr. Grabe. I shall endeavour to produce all the places. The first is<sup>l</sup>,

Ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐ-  
αγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστὶ  
παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο,  
καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη, Ἑβραϊ-  
κοῖς γράμμασιν ἔτι σάζεται. Οὐκ  
οἶδα δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας  
τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἄχρι Χρισ-  
τοῦ περιεῖλον.

They (i. e. the Nazarenes) have  
the Gospel of Matthew most en-  
tire in the Hebrew language among  
them: for this truly is still pre-  
served among them, as it was at  
first, in Hebrew characters. But  
I know not, whether they have  
taken away the genealogy from  
Abraham to Christ.

10. By the same<sup>m</sup>.

Καὶ δέχονται μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ  
κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον· τού-  
τω γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὡς καὶ οἱ κατὰ  
Κήρινθον, χρῶνται μόνῳ· καλοῦσι  
δὲ αὐτὸ κατὰ Ἑβραίους, ὡς τὰ  
ληθῆ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος  
μόνος Ἑβραϊστὶ καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς  
γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ  
ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἑκ-  
θεσίην τε καὶ κήρυγμα.

They (i. e. the Ebionites) also  
receive the Gospel according to  
Matthew. For this both they  
and the Cerinthians make use of,  
and no other. They call it the  
Gospel according to the He-  
brews; for the truth is, that Mat-  
thew is the only one of the New  
Testament writers, who publish-  
ed his Gospel and preaching in  
the Hebrew language, and He-  
brew characters.

11. By the same<sup>n</sup>.

Ἐν τῷ γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγε-  
λίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ,  
οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νε-  
νοθυμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ,  
Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν, ἡμ-  
φέρεται, ὅτι ἐγένετό τις ἀνὴρ ὀνό-  
ματι Ἰησοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν  
τριάκοντα, ὃς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς. Καὶ  
ἰλθὼν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς

In that Gospel which they (i. e.  
the Ebionites) have called the  
Gospel according to St. Matthew,  
which is not entire and perfect,  
but corrupted and curtailed, and  
which they call the Hebrew Gos-  
pel, it is written; "That there  
"was a certain man called Je-  
"sus, and he being about thirty

<sup>l</sup> Epiphanius. Hæres. 29. §. 9. <sup>m</sup> Hæres. 30. quæ est Ebionit. §. 3. <sup>n</sup> Ibid. §. 13.

τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος τοῦ ἐπικληθέν-  
τος Πέτρου, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα  
αὐτοῦ, εἶπε· Παρερχόμενος παρὰ  
τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος, ἐξελεξάμην  
Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον υἱοὺς Ζεβε-  
δαίου, καὶ Σίμωνα, καὶ Ἀνδρέαν,  
καὶ Θαδδαῖον, καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν  
Ζηλωτὴν, καὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαρι-  
ώτην, καὶ σε τὸν Ματθαῖον, καθε-  
ζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσα,  
καὶ ἠκολούθησάς μοι. Ὑμᾶς οὖν  
βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύω ἀποστόλους  
εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ  
ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, καὶ  
ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν φαρισαῖοι, καὶ  
ἐβαπτίσθησαν, καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσό-  
λυμα· Καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυ-  
μα ἀπὸ τριχώων καμήλου, καὶ ζώ-  
νην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐ-  
τοῦ, καὶ τὸ βρώμα αὐτοῦ, φησὶ,  
μέλι ἄγριον, οὗ ἡ γεῦσις ἦν τοῦ  
μάννα, ὡς ἐγκρίς ἐν ἑλαίῳ. Ἵνα  
δῆθεν μεταστρέψωσι τὸν τῆς ἀλη-  
θείας λόγον εἰς ψεῦδος, καὶ ἀντὶ  
ἀκριδῶν ποιήσωσιν ἐγκρίδας ἐν μέ-  
λιτι. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
εὐαγγελίου ἔχει. Ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐν  
ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασι-  
λέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης  
βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν  
τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγετο  
εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ Ἰερέως,  
παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ,  
καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες.  
Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ, ἐπι-  
φέρει, ὅτι τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος  
ἦλθε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη  
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου· καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν

" years of age, made choice of  
" us. And coming to Capernaum,  
" he entered into the house of  
" Simon called Peter, and open-  
" ing his mouth, said; *When I*  
" *passed by the lake of Tiberias,*  
" *I chose John and James, the*  
" *sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and*  
" *Andrew, and Thaddæus, and*  
" *Simon Zelotez, and Judas Isca-*  
" *riot; and thee, Matthew, sit-*  
" *ting at the receipt of custom I*  
" *called, and thou didst follow*  
" *me. I will therefore that ye be*  
" *my twelve apostles for a testi-*  
" *mony to Israel.* And John the  
" Baptist was baptizing, and the  
" pharisees went out to him, and  
" were baptized, and all Jerusa-  
" lem. And John had his gar-  
" ment of camel's hair, and a  
" leathern girdle about his loins,  
" and his meat (according to that  
" Gospel) was wild honey, the  
" taste of which was like manna,  
" or as cakes made with honey  
" and oil." *Thus they change the*  
" *true account into a falsehood, and*  
" *for locusts put cakes made with*  
" *oil and honey*°. The beginning of  
" their Gospel was this; "It came  
" to pass in the days of Herod,  
" the king of Judea, that John  
" came baptizing with the bap-  
" tism of repentance in the river  
" Jordan; who was reported to  
" be of the family of Aaron, the  
" high priest, the son of Zacha-  
" rias and Elizabeth, and all peo-  
" ple went out after him." *And*

° They read the word *ἐγκρίδας* instead of *ἀκριδας*, Matt. iii. 4.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοίγησαν οἱ οὐ-  
ρανοὶ, καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ  
τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἰδὲι περιστερᾶς κα-  
ταλθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐ-  
τόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐ-  
ρανοῦ λέγουσα· Σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱός  
ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἡδόκησα. Καὶ  
πάλιν, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννημά  
σε. Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν  
τόπον φῶς μέγα, ὃν ἰδὼν, φησὶν, ὁ  
Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ τίς εἶ,  
κύριε; καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ  
πρὸς αὐτόν, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου  
ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ἡδόκησα. Καὶ  
τότε, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης προσπεσὼν  
αὐτῷ ἔλεγε, Δέδομαί σου, κύριε·  
σύ με βάπτισον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκώλυεν  
αὐτῷ, λέγων, ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ  
πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα. Ὅρα  
δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς παρασκευασμένην  
πανταχόθεν διδασκαλίαν, πῶς πάν-  
τα χαλὰ, λοῦζα, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὀρ-  
θότητα ἔχοντα. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κή-  
ρινθος καὶ Καρποκράς τῷ αὐτῷ  
χρώμενοι δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγ-  
γέλιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ  
Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου διὰ τῆς γε-  
νεαλογίας βούλονται παριστᾶν ἐκ  
σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι  
τὸν Χριστόν. Οὗτοι δὲ ἄλλὰ τινα  
διανοοῦνται· παρακόντες γὰρ  
τάς παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ γενεαλο-  
γίας, ἄρχονται τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιῆ-  
σθαι, ὡς προεῖπον, λέγοντες· ὅτι  
ἐγένετο, φησὶν, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡ-  
ρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

“ of Joseph and Mary.” But they (viz. the Ebionites) have quite  
other sentiments; for they have taken away the genealogy from Mat-  
thew, and accordingly begin their Gospel, as I above said, with these  
words: *It came to pass in the days of Herod, king of Judæa, &c.*

after several other things, it is  
said in this Gospel, “ That the  
“ people being baptized, Jesus  
“ also went and was baptized by  
“ John; and as he ascended out  
“ of the water, the heavens were  
“ opened, and he saw the *Holy*  
“ *Spirit of God in the form of a*  
“ *dove* descending and entering  
“ into him, and a voice was made  
“ from heaven, saying, *Thou art*  
“ *my beloved Son, in whom I am*  
“ *well pleased*; and then another,  
“ *I have this day begotten thee*;  
“ and suddenly there shone around  
“ the place a great light; which  
“ when John saw, (says this Gos-  
“ pel,) he said to him, *Who art*  
“ *thou, Lord?* and then another  
“ voice from heaven came to him,  
“ *This is my beloved Son, in whom*  
“ *I am well pleased.* Hereupon  
“ (according to this Gospel) John  
“ fell down before him, and said,  
“ *O Lord, I pray thee, baptize*  
“ *me*: but he hindered him, say-  
“ ing, *That it is so fit, that all*  
“ *things should be fulfilled.*” See  
how their false doctrine appears  
every where, how all things are  
imperfect, disordered, and with-  
out any truth or order! So also  
Cerinthus and Carpocrates, using  
this same Gospel of theirs, would  
prove from the beginning of that  
Gospel according to St. Matthew,  
viz. by the genealogy, “ that  
“ Christ proceeded from the seed

## 12. By the same P.

Οὐ φάσκουσι δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ Πατρός  
αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκτίσθαι  
ὡς ἓνα τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, μείζονα  
δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντα· αὐτὸν δὲ κυριεύειν  
καὶ ἀγγέλων, καὶ πάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ  
παντοκράτορος πεποιημένων· καὶ  
ἐλθόντα καὶ ὑφηγησάμενον, ὡς τὸ  
παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγέλιον καλούμενον  
περιέχει, ὅτι ἤλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς  
θυσιάς, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσῃθε τοῦ  
θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀρ-  
γή. Καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τοιαῦτά τινά  
ἐστὶ, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμα-  
τα.

They do not say (viz. the Ebion-  
ites) that he [Christ] was be-  
gotten of the Father, but made  
as one of the angels; but being  
greater than them, he has do-  
minion over them, and all the  
works of the Almighty; and that  
he came and taught that which  
is contained in their Gospel, viz.  
“ I came to abolish sacrifices, and  
“ unless ye cease to offer sacri-  
“ fices, the wrath [of God] shall  
“ not cease from you.” And such  
as these are their tenets.

13. By Jerome: This learned writer has left us the clearest  
and largest account of this Gospel that is now extant, with  
many fragments.

The first and principal place is that in his account of St. Mat-  
thew 9.

Matthæus qui et Levi, ex publi-  
cano apostolus, primus in Judæa,  
propter eos, qui ex circumcisione  
crediderant, Evangelium Christi  
Hebraicis literis verbisque com-  
posuit; quod quis postea in Græ-  
cum transtulerit, non satis cer-  
tum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum  
habetur usque hodie in Cæsari-  
ensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphi-  
lus martyr studiosissime confecit.  
Mihi quoque a Nazaræis qui in  
Bersabæ Beroza<sup>1</sup>, urbe Syriæ,  
hoc volumine utuntur, describen-  
di facultas fuit; in quo animad-  
vertendum, quod ubicunque evan-  
gelista sive ex persona sua, sive  
ex persona domini Salvatoris ve-  
teris scripturæ testimoniis utitur,

Matthew, also called Levi, who  
became from a publican an apo-  
stle, was the first who composed a  
Gospel of Christ, and, for the sake  
of those who believed in Christ  
among the Jews, wrote it in the  
Hebrew language and letters; but  
it is uncertain, who it was that  
translated it into Greek. More-  
over the Hebrew [copy] itself is  
to this time preserved in the li-  
brary of Cæsarea, which Pam-  
philus, the martyr, with much  
diligence collected. The Naza-  
reans, who live in Beræa, a city  
of Syria, and make use of this  
volume, granted me the favour  
of writing it out, in which  
[Gospel] there is this observable,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. §. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Catal. vir. illustr. in Matth.

<sup>1</sup> So it is in my edition for Be-  
ræa.

non sequatur septuaginta translationum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam; e quibus illa duo sunt; Ex *Agypto* vocavi filium meum, et, Quoniam Nazareus vocabitur.

that *wherever the evangelist either cites himself, or introduces our Saviour as citing any passage out of the Old Testament, he does not follow the translation of the LXX. but the Hebrew copies*, of which there are these two instances, viz. that *'Out of Egypt I have called my Son*; and that *'He shall be called a Nazarene.*

14. By the same in his Life of James<sup>u</sup>, where, having related many surprising accounts concerning him, he adds;

Evangelium quoque quod appellatur Secundum Hebræos, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes sæpe utitur, post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert; Dominus autem, cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei; juraverat enim Jacobus se non comesturum panem ab illa hora qualibet calicem Domini, donec videret Dominum resurgentem a mortuis; rursusque post paululum; Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem; statimque additur, Tulit panem et benedixit, et fregit, ac dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei, Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis a dormientibus.

The Gospel also which is called according to the Hebrews, and which I lately translated into Greek and Latin, and which Origen often used, relates, "That after our Saviour's resurrection, when our Lord had given the linen cloth to the priest's servant, he went to James and appeared to him; for James had sworn, that he would not eat bread from that hour, in which he drank the cup of the Lord, till he should see the Lord risen from the dead. And a little after, the Lord said, *Bring the table and the bread*; and then it is added, He took the bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, *My brother, eat thy bread*; for the Son of man is risen from the dead."

15. By the same<sup>x</sup>.

In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in the Chaldee and Syriac language,

<sup>u</sup> Matt. ii. 15.

<sup>t</sup> Ver. 23.

<sup>u</sup> Catal. vir. illustr. in Jacobo.

<sup>x</sup> Adversus Pelagian. l. 3. in princip.

est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive ut plerique autumant juxta Matthæum, quod in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca, narratur historia; Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei, Joannes Baptista baptisat in remissionem peccatorum, eamus et baptisemur ab eo; dixit autem eis, Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptiser ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est. Et in eodem volumine, Si peccaverit, inquit, frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus, Septies in die? respondit Dominus et dixit ei, Etiam ego dico tibi, Usque ad septuagesies septies.

*which the Nazarenes use, [and is] that according to the twelve Apostles; or as most think, according to Matthew: which is in the library of Cæsarea, there is the following history: "Behold, the mother and brethren of Christ spake to him; John the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized by him: He said to them, In what have I sinned, that I have any need to go and be baptized by him? unless my saying this proceed perhaps from ignorance. And in the same volume it is said, If thy brother offend thee by any word, and make thee satisfaction, though it be seven times in a day, thou must forgive him. Simon, his disciple, said to him, What! Seven times in a day! The Lord answered and said to him, I tell thee also, even till seventy times seven."*

#### 16. By the same.

Juxta Evangelium eorum, quod Hebræo sermone conscriptum legunt Nazaræi; descendit super eum omnis fons Spiritus sancti—Porro in Evangelio cujus supra fecimus mentionem, hæc scripta reperimus: Factum est autem quum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti, et requievit super eum, et dixit ei: Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te ut venires, et requiescerem in te;

*According to their Gospel, which is written in the Hebrew language, and read by the Nazarenes, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended upon him—Besides, in that Gospel just mentioned we find these things written: "It came to pass when the Lord ascended from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended and rested upon him, and said to him, My son, among (or during all*



tu es enim requies mea; tu es  
filius meus primogenitus, qui re-  
gnas in sempiternum.

"the time of) *all the prophets,*  
"*I was waiting for thy coming,*  
"*that I might rest upon thee;*  
"*for thou art my rest; thou art*  
"*my first begotten Son, who shalt*  
"*reign to everlasting ages."*

17. By the same<sup>a</sup>.

Sed et in Evangelio, quod juxta  
Hebræos scriptum Nazaræi lecti-  
tant, Dominius loquitur: Modo  
tulit me mater mea Spiritus  
Sanctus.

But it is written in the Gospel  
according to the Hebrews, which  
the Nazarenes read, "The Lord  
said, *The Holy Ghost, my mo-*  
*ther, just now laid hold on me."*

18. By the same<sup>a</sup>.

Qui legerit Canticum Cantico-  
rum, et sponsum animæ Dei Ser-  
monem intellexerit, credideritque  
Evangelio, quod secundum He-  
bræos editum nuper transtulimus,  
in quo ex persona Salvatoris di-  
citur, Modo tulit me mater mea  
Spiritus Sanctus in uno capillo-  
rum meorum; non dubitabit di-  
cere Sermonem Dei ortum esse  
de Spiritu, et animam, quæ spon-  
sa Sermonis est, habere socrum  
Spiritus Sanctum, qui apud He-  
bræos genere dicitur fœminino.

Whoever reads the book of Can-  
ticles, and will understand by  
the spouse of the soul the Word  
of God<sup>b</sup>, and will believe the  
Gospel which is entitled, The  
Gospel according to the He-  
brews, which I lately translated,  
in which our Saviour is intro-  
duced, saying, "*Just now my mo-*  
*ther, the Holy Ghost, laid hold*  
*on me by one of my hairs,"* will  
not scruple to say, the Word of  
God (i. e. Christ) was born of  
the Spirit, and the soul, which is  
the spouse of the Word [Christ],  
has the Holy Ghost for its mother-  
in-law, who in the Hebrew lan-  
guage is expressed in the feminine  
gender.

19. By the same<sup>c</sup>.

In Evangelio, quod juxta Hebræ-  
os Nazaræi legere consueverunt,  
inter maxima ponitur crimina,  
qui fratris sui spiritum contrista-  
verit.

In that which is entitled, The  
Gospel according to the He-  
brews, it is reckoned among the  
chief of crimes, *for a person to*  
*make sorrowful the heart of his*  
*brother.*

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 11. Comment. in Jesai. xl. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 2. Comment. in Mic. vii. 6.

<sup>c</sup> I suppose, by *Sermo* is meant

Christ, called so often the *Λόγος*.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 6. Comment. in Ezek. xviii. 7.

20. By the same<sup>d</sup>.

In Evangelio, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, pro supersubstantiali pane reperi מחר, quod dicitur crastinum, ut sit sensus; panem nostrum crastinum, i. e. futurum, da nobis hodie.

In the Gospel, entitled, *according to the Hebrews*, I find instead of supersubstantial bread, מחר [machar], which signifies *the morrow*; so the sense is, *Give us this day the bread necessary for the morrow*, i. e. for the future.

21. By the same<sup>e</sup>.

In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ (quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum) homo iste, qui aridam habet manum, cæmentarius scribitur istiusmodi vocibus auxilium precans; Cæmentarius eram, manibus victum quæritans; precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos.

In the Gospel, *which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use*, (which I lately translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and which is by most esteemed *the authentic Gospel of Matthew*.) the man who had the withered hand is said to be a mason, and prayed for relief in the following words: "*I was a mason, who got my livelihood by my hands; I beseech thee, Jesus, that thou wouldst restore me to my strength, that I may no longer thus scandalously beg my bread.*"

22. By the same<sup>f</sup>.

In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni, pro filio Barachizæ, filium Joiadæ reperimus scriptum.

In the Gospel, *which the Nazarenes use*, for the son of Barachiah I find written the son of Joiada<sup>g</sup>.

23. By the same<sup>h</sup>.

Iste [Barabbas] in Evangelio quod scribitur juxta Hebræos, filius magistri eorum interpretatur, qui propter seditionem et homicidium fuerat condemnatus.

In the Gospel, entitled, *according to the Hebrews*, he [Barabbas] is interpreted *the son of their master*<sup>i</sup>, who was condemned for sedition and murder.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. 1. Comment. in Matth. vi. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. 2. Comment. in Matth. xii.

<sup>f</sup> 13.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. 4. Comment. in Matth. xxiii.

<sup>h</sup> See Matth. xxiii. 35.

<sup>i</sup> Lib. 4. Comment. in Matth. xvii. 16.

<sup>j</sup> So Barabbas signifies, being derived from בר רבבי the son of a rabbi, or master.

24. By the same<sup>k</sup>.

In Evangelio, cujus sæpe fecimus mentionem, superdiminare templi infinitæ magnitudinis fractum esse atque divisum legimus.

In the Gospel, which I have often mentioned, we read, *that a lintel of the temple of an immense size was broken and rent* (viz. at our Saviour's crucifixion.)

25. By the same<sup>l</sup>.

In Evangelio autem, quod Hebraicis literis scriptum est, legimus non velum templi scissum, sed superliminare templi miræ magnitudinis corruisse.

In *that Gospel, which is written in Hebrew letters*, we read, not that the veil of the temple was rent, *but that a lintel [or beam] of a prodigious size fell down.*

26. By the same<sup>m</sup>.

In Hebraico quoque Evangelio legimus, Dominum ad discipulos loquentem, et Nunquam, inquit, læti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in charitate.

In the Hebrew Gospel we read, that our Lord said to his disciples, "*Be ye never cheerful, unless when you can see your brother in love.*"

27. By the same<sup>n</sup>.

Cum enim apostoli eum putarent spiritum, vel, juxta Evangelium quod lectitant Nazaræi, incorporeale dæmonium, dixit eis, Quid turbati estis, &c.

For when the apostles supposed him to be a spirit, or, according to *the Gospel which the Nazarenes read*, an *incorporeal demon*, he said to them, *Why are ye troubled, &c.*

28. By the same, concerning Ignatius.

In Epistola ad Smyrnæos—de Evangelio quod nuper a me translatum est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium dicens, Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi, et credo quia sit: et quando venit ad Petrum, et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis, Ecce palpate me, et videte, quia non sum dæmonium incorporeale; et statim tetigerunt eum, et crediderunt.

In the Epistle to the Smyrneans, he takes a testimony from the Gospel which I lately translated, as spoken by Christ; he says, I saw Christ in the flesh after the resurrection, and believe that it was he; and when he came to Peter, and to those who were with Peter, he said unto them, *Behold, feel me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit; and presently they touched him, and believed.*

<sup>k</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Epist. ad Hedib. cxlix.

<sup>m</sup> Lib. 3. Comm. in Ep. ad Eph. v. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Præfat. lib. 18. Comment. in Jesai.

These are all the places I have met with in the writers within the limits of my time, except that Epiphanius tells us, that a certain Jew, called Joseph, found in a cell at Tiberias, in the time of Constantine, τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἑβραϊκὸν εὐαγγέλιον, viz. "the Hebrew Gospel ascribed to Matthew<sup>o</sup>."

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The various sentiments of later writers concerning the Gospel of the Nazarenes. The opinions of Beda, Sixtus Senensis, cardinal Baronius, Casaubon, Grotius, father Simon, Du Pin, Dr. Grabe, Mr. Toland, Mr. Nye, Mr. Richardson, Dr. Mill, Dr. Whitby, Mr. Fabritius, Mr. Le Clerc, and Dr. Mangey.*

HAVING in the preceding chapter produced the ancient testimonies and fragments of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, I proceed as I proposed;

II. *To give as succinct an account as I can of the opinions of later writers concerning it.* And to this I am the rather induced, because several men of learning have entertained so high sentiments of this ancient book, as *not only to make it canonical, but thereby also more valuable than our present Greek Gospel of St. Matthew*, which in consequence must be rejected as apocryphal.—I design here all possible brevity, and therefore shall not produce the authors' words at large, as in the former chapter, but only give a compendious abstract account of what they have said; for the justness of which I shall refer the readers to the books themselves, as cited at the bottom of the page. The authors which I have selected I have placed in the following order, according to the time of their writing, viz. Beda, Sixtus Senensis, Baronius, Casaubon, Grotius, father Simon, Du Pin, Dr. Grabe, Mr. Toland, Mr. Nye, Mr. Richardson, Dr. Mill, Dr. Whitby, Mr. Fabritius, Mr. Le Clerc, and Dr. Mangey.

1. Beda<sup>p</sup>, a writer of the seventh century, saith, "that the Gospel according to the Hebrews is not to be esteemed among the apocryphal, but ecclesiastical histories, because Jerome himself, who translated the sacred scriptures, has

<sup>o</sup> Hæres. 30. Ebion. §. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Comment. in Luc. i. apud Sixt. Senens. p. 64.

“ taken many testimonies out of it, and translated it into Greek and Latin.”

2. Sixtus Senensis, in his excellent *Bibliotheca* <sup>q</sup>, is of opinion, that the Gospel of the Ebionites “ was only the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew interpolated and corrupted by those heretics, and that the Nazarene Gospel was received by the most ancient fathers among other sacred [*venerandas*] scriptures, for the edification of the church.”

3. Baronius (as Casaubon interprets his words) saith<sup>r</sup>, “ The present Greek text of St. Matthew is of no value nor authority, unless it were to be compared with the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, which he looks upon as the true original.”

4. Casaubon<sup>s</sup> affirms and proves the contrary, viz. That if the Hebrew Gospel were still extant, “ it were not to be looked upon as the original authentic text of St. Matthew, because it was only made use of by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, heretics, and a work full of fables and corruptions of various sorts.”

5. “ Grotius supposes this Gospel to have been made out of the original Hebrew of St. Matthew, and that in it were some accounts not written by him, but such as the Nazarenes received by tradition, and by degrees inserted into their copies; from whence the difference arose between the Greek and Hebrew books<sup>t</sup>.”

6. Father Simon has carried the authority of this Gospel to a very great height; and spent two whole chapters<sup>u</sup> in endeavouring to support it. The substance of what he says is; “ That St. Matthew first wrote his Gospel in Hebrew; that it was composed for the primitive Christians of Palestine, called Nazarenes, who are not to be looked upon as heretics; that if this their Hebrew copy were extant, it were to be preferred to the Greek version which we now have; that it is not to be looked upon as apocryphal, or a false book, nor to be compared with the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Acts of Barnabas, the Prophecy of Cham, and other

<sup>q</sup> *Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 63, 64.*

<sup>r</sup> *Annal. ad Ann. C<sup>u</sup>, XXXIV. N<sup>o</sup>. 175. and Casaub. adversa. Baron. Annal. exercit. 16. c. 115.*

<sup>s</sup> *Loc. jam citat. et exercit. 15. c. 12.*

<sup>t</sup> *Annot. in Titul. Matth.*

<sup>u</sup> *Critic. Histor. of the New Test. part 1. c. 7, 9.*

“books that have been forged by impostors, but really a composition of St. Matthew; and as for the additions afterwards inserted in it, they are not false, but annexed by the Nazarenes, as what they had from good and undoubted testimonies, and therefore not to be rejected.” He heartily “wishes it were now extant, even with all the interpolations of the Nazarenes and Ebionites;” and adds, that “even thus it should not be reckoned among the forgeries of impostors, but as the most ancient act of the Christian religion, and consequently preferable to our present Greek copies of St. Matthew, which are not a very just translation.”

7. Mr. Du Pin<sup>x</sup> has very much the same sentiments with father Simon, only with this difference, (which is indeed every where visible in the writings of those two French critics,) that he delivers his thoughts with a more becoming softness and modesty.

8. Dr. Grabe<sup>y</sup> seems to have treated the subject with more accuracy, and supposes, that the Gospel of the Nazarenes “was not a forgery of those heretics, because it was not only translated by Jerome, but appealed to or cited by many of the old Christian writers, Ignatius, Papias, Justin Martyr, &c. That it was not any Gospel of St. Matthew’s altered, corrupted, and interpolated; but an honest composition of the Jewish converts at Jerusalem, soon after our Saviour’s ascension, and some time before any of our present canonical Gospels were written; that it afterwards had affixed to it the title of Matthew by the artifice of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, who knowing St. Matthew’s Gospel was wrote in Hebrew, thereby more easily imposed their own upon the world, which was written in that language under his name.”

9. Mr. Toland<sup>z</sup> tells us, the Ebionites or Nazarenes, “who were the oldest Christians, had a different copy of St. Matthew’s Gospel, and that this is by several maintained to be the original of St. Matthew<sup>a</sup>.” This author has given us his opinion more largely in a late disingenuous tract against the Christian religion<sup>b</sup>. Having described his Nazarenes (who denied the godhead of Christ) as the original and only true

<sup>x</sup> Hist. of the Canon, vol. 2. c. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Amyntor, p. 64.

<sup>y</sup> 3.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>y</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. I. p. 15, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Nazarenus.

Christians, and such as could not be mistaken, he mentions their books<sup>c</sup>. Among others, "they had," says he, "a Gospel of their own, sometimes called by ecclesiastical writers, The Gospel of the Hebrews, and sometimes The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, but ignorantly mistaken by Irenæus, Epiphanius, and others, for the Gospel of Matthew interpolated. This Gospel was publicly read in their churches, as authentic, for three hundred years; which might very well be for the most part, and yet the other Gospels be nevertheless authentic also. It might be one of those many mentioned by St. Luke, as written before his own, and which he does not reject as false or erroneous, or for any other reason — Divers pious and learned men regret highly the loss of it—It was translated into Greek and Latin by Jerome, who very often makes use of it, as likewise did Origen and Eusebius, not rejecting it as apocryphal, nor receiving it as canonical, but placing it among what they called ecclesiastical books, i. e. books whose antiquity they were not able to deny, but whose authority they were not willing to acknowledge. Long before these, the Gospel of the Hebrews was by Papias, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, alleged as a true Gospel. So it seems to have been by Justin Martyr. So it was by Hegesippus," &c.

10. Mr. Nye supposes<sup>d</sup>, not only that the Ebionites and Nazarenes "were different sects, but that they had different Gospels." He blames Epiphanius for calling the "things added in this Gospel *adulterations*. That they are preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, Austin, Photius," (which by the way is so very false, that neither Austin nor Photius have once mentioned this Gospel, nor Eusebius preserved one fragment :) "That it were highly to be valued, if extant." He adds a conjecture concerning the difference between St. Matthew's and the Ebionites' copies, more ingenious than well-grounded, viz. "That St. Matthew published two editions of his Gospel. In the first he began at the baptism of John, which is now chap. 3. In the second he began, as our present copies, with the genealogy." The Ebionites made their copies from the first edition, and thence proceeded the difference.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. XX.

<sup>d</sup> Answer to Amyntor, p. 76, &c.

11. Mr. Richardson<sup>e</sup>. "The Gospel according to the Hebrews was (as we may learn from Epiphanius and Jerome) the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew, but with several interpolations and additions of their own, though without making any alterations in what they found in the authentic copies before.—The Ebionites corrupted the Gospel of Matthew in several more particulars than the Nazarenes, who only added some historical passages from tradition, several of which might be true, and if not pretending to be wrote by St. Matthew, ought not to be called spurious, or a forgery."

12. Dr. Mill<sup>f</sup> has borrowed his sentiments of this Gospel from Dr. Grabe, viz. "that it was not at all the same with the true Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, but made before it by some Jewish Christians at Jerusalem." Only there seems this difference, that as Dr. Grabe imagines it to have been abused by the Nazarenes afterwards, Dr. Mill supposes not only this, but several erroneous and heterodox things to have been in it at its first writing.

13. Dr. Whithy<sup>g</sup>, attempting to prove that St. Matthew's Gospel was originally wrote in Greek, and not in Hebrew, concludes concerning this Gospel of the Hebrews, "That it was not the true authentic Gospel of St. Matthew; that it was not a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel free from interpolations and additions, but St. Matthew's Gospel translated out of Greek into Hebrew, with the same liberty as the Chaldee paraphrases of the Old Testament, viz. with the addition of several things from tradition; which version the primitive Christians, who were ignorant of that language, finding in their hands, they from the likeness of the thing, and the pretensions of the Jews, might think it an original, written for their use."

14. Mr. Fabritius<sup>h</sup> censures Mr. Toland, for his having too highly extolled this apocryphal Gospel, as well as for the whole design of his Nazarenus; and a little after adds<sup>i</sup>; by all the fragments of this Gospel it is evident, that "it was very different from the canonical one of Matthew."

<sup>e</sup> Canon Vindicated, p. 69, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 42.

<sup>g</sup> Preface to the Gospels, p. 46, 47.

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. tom. 3. p.

541.

<sup>i</sup> P. 546.



15. Mr. Le Clerc<sup>k</sup> is of the same opinion with Dr. Whitby, as above.

16. Dr. Mangey<sup>l</sup>, speaking of the Nazarenes, observes, that "they used not the Gospel of St. Matthew, but a particular Gospel of their own:" and in another place afterwards<sup>m</sup>, "They pretended, in order to gain better terms from the other believers, to use an Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew," (which, by the way, probably caused the erroneous opinion of that Gospel being originally wrote in Hebrew,) but this was a false pretence; "for the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which they followed, was very different from ours of St. Matthew, as appears not only by the remaining fragments of it, but from the testimony of Jerome, who affirms that he translated it both into Greek and Latin.—They submitted not to the received writings of the apostles, but followed a chimerical forged Gospel of their own."

Thus I have collected the most considerable opinions, if not all of any value, that have been published by later writers, concerning the Gospel of the Hebrews.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*The Gospel of the Nazarenes highly esteemed by many writers, because they imagined it was cited by the primitive Christians in their writings. This proved to be a mistake. No Christian writer of the first four centuries has cited or appealed to this Gospel, believing it to be of any authority. A notorious inadvertency of many learned men, whereby they supposed that Papias cited it. A character of Papias. No version made of the Nazarene Gospel before that of Jerome. Another mistake of Jerome and other learned men, in supposing that Ignatius used this Gospel.*

HAVING given so large an account in the preceding chapter of the sentiments of learned men concerning the Gospel of the Nazarenes, I proceed here to consider *the real value and authority of it*. I design not to enter into any large criticism upon

<sup>k</sup> Dissert. III. annexed to his Harm. of the Gospel.

<sup>l</sup> Remarks on Nazarenus, c. 6. p. 35.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. chap. 8. p. 58, 59.

these various opinions, nor yet to interpose my own; my business being not so much to do this, as to set forth its true authority. I proceed therefore in the method which I proposed; viz. to shew,

III. *That the Gospel of the Nazarenes was never received by any primitive writer as canonical, neither cited nor appealed to, as of any authority, by any one writer of the first four centuries.*

I am very sensible, that I here am about to oppose the sentiments of many learned men, who have unwarily been betrayed into an extravagant opinion of this Gospel, by a groundless presumption, that the fathers have cited it, without a due inquiry into the matter. Thus the learned Sixtus Senensis says, it was “received by the most ancient fathers among other sacred scriptures, for the edification of the church.” See above, Chap. XXVI. N<sup>o</sup>. II. Baronius and Simon judge it “for the same reason preferable to our present Greek copies of St. Matthew.” “The most ancient ecclesiastical writers (says Simon<sup>n</sup>) have cited it as the true Gospel of St. Matthew.” Dr. Grabe was for the same reason induced to his high opinion of it, viz. “because he thought it was cited by Papias, Hegesippus, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and others, even for the confirmation of the great articles of religion<sup>o</sup>.” But no one has been so extravagantly positive, and unpardonably mistaken in this matter, as Mr. Toland<sup>p</sup>, who tells us, “It was read in the Christian churches for three hundred years, not rejected by Origen and Eusebius, but alleged as a true Gospel by Papias, Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, and others.” This therefore being the main foundation of this Gospel’s credit, will require a more critical inquiry; and this I shall attempt by shewing, *that not one of these fathers received it with any authority, but almost every one expressly rejected it as apocryphal.*

The first is Papias, who is generally esteemed by all those who have wrote on these subjects to have made use of the Gospel of the Hebrews. Thus thought the learned archbishop

<sup>n</sup> Critic. Hist. of the New Test. part  
1. c. 7. p. 61.

<sup>o</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcl. I. p. 24.  
<sup>p</sup> Nazaren. chap. 20. p. 78, &c.

Usher<sup>q</sup>; thus Dr. Grabe<sup>r</sup>, Fabritius<sup>s</sup>, bishop Pearson<sup>t</sup>, and others. Father Simon and Toland are more egregiously mistaken; the former asserts<sup>u</sup>, "That Papias, who lived with the disciples of the apostles, saith, that the history of the woman 'accused of many sins before our Saviour' is to be read in the Gospel that was called according to the Hebrews; the latter<sup>x</sup>, that "Papias alleges it as a true Gospel." But in this these writers are all plainly mistaken; for there can be nothing more evident, than that they did not rightly consider the words of Eusebius, which are the foundation of their opinion; he mentions indeed such a history as expounded by Papias, but then adds in his own words<sup>y</sup>, "It is contained in the Gospel of the 'Hebrews;'" and does not so much as "intimate that Papias 'took it thence.'" Nothing therefore seems more probable, than that this history was related by Papias, not out of any book, but as what he had received by tradition. To confirm which I observe,

1. That he is called by Irenæus<sup>z</sup>, "a disciple of St. John, a 'friend of Polycarp, and an ancient author,'" and consequently might be very likely to receive many true accounts and histories of our Saviour, which are not in our present Gospels, such as his master St. John speaks of, chap. xxi. 25.

2. Papias himself declares<sup>a</sup>, "that he received his accounts 'of Christianity from those τῶν ἐκείνοις γινώσκων, who were intimately acquainted with the apostles, and that these accounts, which he thus received from the older Christians, and 'had committed to memory, he would insert in his books."

3. Add to this what he further says<sup>b</sup>, that "he was very solicitous to be informed of every thing he could by tradition, 'and spared no pains to know what the apostles had said and 'preached, valuing such information (as he says) more than 'what was written in books."

From all this it is manifest, not only that Papias did not cite the Nazarene Gospel, but that he related this history of the

<sup>q</sup> In Epist. ad Smyrn. Ignat. not. 23. p. 48.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. cit. p. 17.

<sup>s</sup> Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. t. i. p. 356.

<sup>t</sup> Vindic. Ignat. Epist. par. 2. c. 9. p. 102.

<sup>u</sup> Loc. jam cit. p. 67.

<sup>x</sup> Loc. jam cit.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39. in fine.

<sup>z</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 5. c. 23.

<sup>a</sup> Præfat. in Opp. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39. In init.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

woman accused before Christ, only as a fact that he had heard, or received by tradition. I might add here, that Papias cannot be supposed to have made use of this Hebrew Gospel, because he did not understand the language in which it was written, as it seems not unreasonable to conclude from his being bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, where every one knows the Hebrew could not be understood.

It may indeed be objected, that Papias *made use of a Greek version, and so could make his citation thence*; and accordingly I observe, that father Simon supposes<sup>c</sup>, that our *Greek version*, as he calls it, of St. Matthew, *and many others, were made out of this Hebrew Gospel very early*<sup>d</sup>, *even before the Nazarene interpolations*. But in this he is mistaken; it being much more probable, no Greek version was made of this Nazarene Gospel before Jerome's time; which, as it will be of some importance in the following controversy, I shall endeavour to support by the following remarks, viz.

First, There is *not the least intimation in all antiquity of any such version* before that made by Jerome.

Secondly, Had there been one made before Jerome's, *there seems to have been no reason for his being made*, at least it is probable he would have mentioned it as an imperfect translation; as he usually does in other cases, where he speaks of his own translations.

Thirdly, It is probable enough, *the Jewish Christians would be cautious to prevent their Gospel being made public*: as their forefathers were of the books of the Old Testament, who, if I mistake not, kept an anniversary day of humiliation on account of the LXX. Version being made. And hence Jerome intimates<sup>e</sup>, that the Nazarenes at Beroëa *favoured him*, when they allowed him to take a copy of it. Mr. Fabritius therefore too hastily censured Jerome for making a translation of a book already translated; which, says he, Origen and others read before in Greek<sup>f</sup>; for as I think it at least probable from what is said, that there was no version of it made before Jerome's, so it does not appear, that either Origen or others read it in Greek,

<sup>c</sup> Crit. Hist. of the New Test. part

1. c. 7. p. 67.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. c. 9. p. 78.

<sup>e</sup> Above, chap. 25. n. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. t. 1. p.

or cited it; which, as I have shewn of Papias, I proceed to shew of them.

The second who is said to have made use of this Gospel is Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who lived in the beginning of the second century. The passage, supposed to be by him taken out of it, is as follows ε.

Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κρατηθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.

And when he came to those who were with Peter, he said unto them, *Take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal demon; and presently they touched him, and believed, being convinced by his flesh and spirit.*

This is generally said by the critics to have been taken by Ignatius out of this Gospel. So judged Baronius<sup>h</sup>, Drusius<sup>i</sup>, Valesius<sup>k</sup>, Dr. Grabe<sup>l</sup>, and many others; whence they have formed a more high opinion of the book. That which persuaded them to suppose it taken thence is the express assertion of Jerome to this purpose: (see above, Chap. XXV. No. XXVIII.) but this will appear very improbable; for,

1. *Ignatius does not make any mention of this Gospel, either in this or any other place of those epistles which go under his name*; and therefore it may as well be supposed he cited what he had heard, as what he had read, especially if we consider him as one who lived very near the apostles' times, if not in them, and at this time in a troublesome journey under a guard of soldiers, and so destitute of his books<sup>m</sup>. Can any one imagine, that in this journey Ignatius carried the Gospel of the Nazarenes, wrote in a language which he could scarce understand, along with him from Syria to Rome? And if he did not, is it not more probable he cited a passage which he had heard by tradition, than quoted it out of this apocryphal Gospel? Nor am I alone in this conjecture. The great Casaubon in the place cited, and bishop Pearson<sup>n</sup>, suppose the very same, viz. That Ignatius *did not take the passage out of the Nazarene*

ε Epist. ad Smyrn. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Apud Casaub. Exerc. p. 497.

<sup>i</sup> Observat. Sacr. lib. 4. c. 22.

<sup>k</sup> Annot. in Euseb. lib. 3. c. 36.

<sup>l</sup> Loc. sup. cit.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 36.

<sup>n</sup> Vindic. Epist. Ignat. par. 2. c. 9. p. 103, 104.

*Gospel, but referred to some unwritten tradition, which was afterwards inserted into the Hebrew Gospel attributed to Matthew. But if this be not sufficient, I observe, as what seems indeed most probable ;*

2. That the passage above produced is so very little different from the words of St. Luke, chap. xxiv. 39. that these seem to have been intended or referred to by Ignatius, and no other. This will appear by the comparing of them.

*The words of Christ, as they are  
in St. Luke's Gospel.*

Ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ τοὺς  
πόδας μου, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι·  
ψηλαφῆσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι  
πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει,  
καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα.

*The English of St. Luke's words.*

Behold my hands and my feet,  
that it is myself ; handle me, and  
see, for a spirit hath not flesh and  
bones, as you see me have.

*The words of Christ, as they are  
in Ignatius's Epistle.*

Λάβετε, ψηλαφῆσατέ με, καὶ  
ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώ-  
ματον.

*The English of Ignatius's words.*

Take, handle me, and see, that I  
am not an incorporeal spirit (or  
dæmon.)

These two sentences are so extremely alike, not only as to the whole sense and design of them, but even as to the very words, that if there were no other argument, this would of itself be sufficient to prove the point I am contending for. But this will be much corroborated, if we consider,

First, *That the Christian fathers, especially the oldest, were continually wont to cite the scriptures memoriter, i. e. by their memories, without consulting their copies, and so not expressing the very words of the sacred writer whom they cited, thought it sufficient to express the sense or design of the place.* This is evident by a thousand instances, and is very well urged by Dr. Whitby<sup>o</sup> against Dr. Mill, who has very unfairly made their memoriter citations so often to be various lections, or to proceed from different copies. Nor can it seem strange, that the fathers did cite thus, when we see the same daily practised by the best writers. Besides, the form of their volumes was such, as occasioned much greater difficulty to find any passage in them

<sup>o</sup> Examen variant. Lection. D. Millii. c. 1. §. 1, 2, &c.

than it now is in ours <sup>p</sup>. I might add further, that they had not as yet their books distinguished into chapters and verses, as ours now are, &c.

Secondly, That Ignatius (as I have observed) was *now on a journey, under a strict guard of soldiers*, and therefore as he *probably had not his books with him, it is not strange he should give only the sense of St. Luke's words, and not all the words themselves*. And this he, who will be at the pains to observe, may perceive in many other citations in the epistles of Ignatius.

Thirdly, I observe, the epistles of Ignatius are strangely corrupted and interpolated since their first writing. This is well known, and archbishop Usher has abundantly proved it, and particularly in this same place <sup>q</sup>; from whence I conclude, that the words here were formerly perhaps more like those of Luke than they are now.

To conclude, many learned men have imagined all these epistles of Ignatius to be spurious, and the celebrated Mr. Daillé has endeavoured, from this very place, to prove that they are so <sup>r</sup>.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*A particular proof that neither Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, nor Jerome have appealed to the Gospel of the Nazarenes as of any authority, but on the contrary rejected it, as not canonical.*

THE next who is supposed to have taken any thing out of this Gospel is Justin Martyr <sup>s</sup>, viz. *an account of a fire kindled in the river Jordan, when Christ was baptized*. Thus thought a learned friend of Mr. Dodwell's, whom he has mentioned in his Dissertations on Irenæus <sup>t</sup>. But of this there is so little probability, no Gospel being named by Justin, nay the passage in Justin being different from that in the Nazarene Gospel, that I think it needs no further notice, than to be considered

<sup>p</sup> See my account of the ancient ways of writing and form of volumes. Vindic. of St. Matt. Gosp. c. 15. p. 151, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Edit. Epistol. Ignat. in Proleg. c. 3. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Contr. Epist. Ignat. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 339, 340.

<sup>s</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 315.

<sup>t</sup> Dissert. II. §. 9. p. 106.

among those uncertain sayings and histories of Christ, which will be collected in the Appendix to this part.

Hegesippus (an early writer of the second century) is the next who is supposed to have used it, and, according to Dr. Grabe, "to have had frequent recourse to it"; and Mr. Toland<sup>z</sup>, "to have alleged it as a true Gospel." This they gather from a mistaken translation of these words of Eusebius, Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίων Εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδὸς διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν<sup>y</sup>; thus translated by Valesius; *Nonnulla item ex Hebræorum Evangelio, et Syriaco, et ex Hebraicâ linguâ profert in medium*, &c. But I think much better rendered thus in English; "He has discoursed or said some things concerning the Hebrew Gospel, and the Syriac and Hebrew language;" for to *cite things out of the Syriac and Hebrew dialect* seems a very bald and incongruous expression. Hence Ruffin has translated it, *Disseruit de Evangelio secundum Hebræos*, &c. And therefore Eusebius's words do not imply that Hegesippus cited it. But suppose they did, and he really did cite it, it does not appear after what manner he cited it; and I may as well suppose he cited it to confute it, as they do that he cited it for authority, just as Eusebius tells us in the next words, that he mentioned some of the traditions of the Jews. But if it should not be thus, I would say Hegesippus was a Nazarene, (as Mr. Toland would have him to be,) because he was originally a Jew<sup>z</sup>; and I cannot see any authority or credit will be procured to this Nazarene Gospel, because a Nazarene made use of it.

Clemens Alexandrinus is another, from whose citation of this Gospel the abovementioned authors would gain credit to it; but though it is indeed cited in his works<sup>a</sup>, yet this will prove no more favourable to their scheme than the former instances; for,

1. *He has mentioned it only once in all his works*; viz. lib. 2. p. 380. Mr. Toland<sup>b</sup> refers indeed to a place in the first book; but I dare aver it is not there mentioned: but I easily see how Mr. Toland made this mistake; he followed the

<sup>a</sup> Lib. cit. Sæcul. 1. p. 16, 24.

<sup>z</sup> Nazar. c. 20.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 22.

<sup>z</sup> See Euseb. loc. cit.

<sup>a</sup> See above, chap. xxv. No. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Amyntor, p. 35. He has committed the very same blunder, as to this passage, in his Nazaren. p. 78.



false print of Dr. Grabe's *Spicilegium*, p. 26. But this is no uncommon thing with him to follow the mistakes of the press. I more wonder Mr. Fabritius should be guilty of the same in this very instance. But to return; if Clemens cited this Gospel but once, it is plain he had no high opinion of it, or not so high as of our present Gospels, which he appeals to in almost every page. But to put an end to the dispute,

2. Clemens in so many words *denies the authority, and absolutely rejects all Gospels besides those four now received*. This he does more than once; so in the third book of his *Stromata*, p. 465; and in the fragment of his books *de Hypotypos*, preserved by Eusebius<sup>c</sup>, if these last be his.

3. I might here add, that Clemens *did not understand the Hebrew language, in which the Nazarene Gospel was written*; and so could not cite it; nor could he use a version, there being none at that time made, as has been proved.

After Clemens they reckon Origen his scholar, as having cited this Gospel with regard to its authority. So Dr. Grabe would persuade us<sup>d</sup>, "that he took testimonies out of it to 'prove the articles of our faith,'" and Mr. Toland<sup>e</sup>, that "he 'alleged it as a true Gospel.'" But in this they are more notoriously mistaken than in the former instances: For,

1. *The Gospel of the Nazarenes was certainly the same with that according to the twelve apostles*. This Dr. Grabe and Mr. Toland both assert; but the Gospel according to the twelve apostles is expressly rejected by Origen, as apocryphal, and placed among the books of the heretics; which were not to be received. See the place at large above, Chap. VII. N<sup>o</sup>. V. Therefore Origen could not appeal to the authority of this Gospel.

2. There are several places in the works of Origen wherein he asserts, "there ought only four Gospels to be received in 'the church,'" viz. those which we now receive. See the places cited in the notes at the bottom of the page<sup>f</sup>.

3. In both the places where he produces passages out of this Gospel, he plainly intimates, *that he looked upon it as of very little credit*. Hence he introduces them both in the same man-

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. cit. p. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Nazaren. c. 20. p. 80.

<sup>f</sup> Comment. in Matth. lib. 1. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25. et in Philocal. c. 5. p. 29.

ner; the first thus; "If any one will admit or receive the Gospel according to the Hebrews," &c. The second; "It is written in a certain Gospel, entitled, *according to the Hebrews*, if any one be pleased to receive it, not as of any authority, but only for illustration of the present question," &c. See the place at large above, Chap. XXV. N<sup>o</sup>. IV. V. From all this it is evident, Origen did not esteem this Nazarene Gospel as of any considerable value or authority in the church, but rejected it as apocryphal.

Eusebius is the next called in to support the credit of this Gospel: "He very often makes use of it," says Mr. Toland <sup>ε</sup>, as on the contrary I affirm, he never once has made use of it. "He places it in the rank of dubious scriptures, such as not only the Epistles of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas," saith Dr. Grabe<sup>h</sup>; "but the Epistles of James, Jude, and other apostles:" on the contrary I affirm, *he expressly distinguishes these from it*, placing them among the scriptures which he calls ἀντιλεγόμενας, i. e. *doubted of by some*; but this among those which he calls νόθους, i. e. *spurious, and to be utterly rejected*<sup>i</sup>. I confess, he a little after places them all under the general title of ἀντιλεγόμεναι; but the word must there be taken in a more extensive signification than in the former place, else Eusebius will not be consistent with himself.

But if all the rest fail, Jerome must make it out. "He frequently," say they, "appeals to this Gospel, and not only so, but translated it into Greek and Latin:" notwithstanding all which, a little observation will inform us, Jerome had no higher opinion of it than the forementioned writers. For,

1. He expressly saith, "It was the same with the Gospel, entitled, *according to the Twelve Apostles*," above, Chap. XXV. N<sup>o</sup>. XV. *but this he expressly rejects as apocryphal, in another place*, (viz. above, Chap. VII. N<sup>o</sup>. V.) *and as a book of the heretics, wrote by men destitute of the Spirit and grace of God, without a due regard to truth*. See the passage at large above, Chap. VII. N<sup>o</sup>. IV.

2. The same appears *from the manner of his citing it in several of the places above*, Chap. XXV. For instance, in that there produced, N<sup>o</sup>. XVIII. he introduces his citation thus,

<sup>ε</sup> Loc. jam cit.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. jam cit. p. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

“ He who will believe the Gospel according to the Hebrews,” &c. And after the citation of it in another place, as also a passage of Ignatius, he subjoins, *Quibus testimoniis si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem*, &c. “ Which testimonies though you are not to receive as of any authority, yet may be regarded for their antiquity,” &c.<sup>k</sup>

From all this it is evident, how unjustly it has hitherto been asserted, that these fathers cited or appealed to this Gospel, and with what unpardonable falsehood Mr. Toland asserted its being appealed to by them in their writings frequently, as a true Gospel. Let him henceforth for ever cease his accusations against the clergy, or priests, as he calls them, for unfair dealing and false quotations, as also his attempts against Christianity, unless he can produce some better arguments, and proceed in some more honest method to support them.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Positive proofs that the Gospel of the Nazarenes was apocryphal. It is found in none of the ancient catalogues of sacred books. Never was cited, as of authority. Never read in the churches. It contained many things apparently false; as, that Christ was a sinner; was unwilling to be baptized, &c. It contained several idle stories; as the Holy Ghost taking Christ by one of his hairs into a high mountain, &c. The rich man scratching his head, &c. Things in it later than the time of their being said or done. The design of it. Made out of Matthew. Its age. Not equal in authority with the present Greek. Made by Jews. Of the Nazarenes.*

AFTER having so largely shewn what were the sentiments of the old Christian writers concerning this Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, there may seem but little necessity of saying any thing further to invalidate its authority. But inasmuch as there is no other apocryphal piece which hath been so highly extolled as this, and it has been so often preferred to our present Greek copies of St. Matthew, it cannot be improper, that, according to my first proposal, I proceed,

<sup>k</sup> Lib. 3. adv. Pelag. in princip.

IV. To demonstrate in a more positive manner, *that it really was a spurious and apocryphal piece.*

This is clear by Prop. IV. *as not being mentioned in any of the ancient catalogues*; by Prop. V. *as not being cited by any of the ancient writers*; by Prop. VI. *as not being read in any of the assemblies of the primitive Christians.* And I here cannot but take notice of a most notorious and villainous imposture of Mr. Toland<sup>1</sup>, who with all the assurance imaginable asserts, "That this Gospel was publicly read in their churches *as authentic, for above three hundred years.*" For this he cites two passages of St. Austin<sup>m</sup>; in neither of which there is the least distant intimation or insinuation of what he asserts: all that he says is, "that in his time there were some very few *heretics called Nazarenes, or Symmachians, who admitted both the circumcision of the Jews and the baptism of the Christians.*"

I add now further, that this Gospel of the Nazarenes is to be esteemed apocryphal by Prop. VIII. *as containing several things contrary to certainly known and undoubted truths*; by Prop. IX. *as containing things trifling and silly*; by Prop. X. *as containing things later than the time in which it pretends to have been written.*

I shall prove each of these separately:

1. *The Gospel of the Nazarenes was apocryphal, because it contained several things contrary to certainly known and undoubted truths,* by Prop. VIII. I might here instance in a great number of particulars contrary to one or other of our present Gospels; but having not yet proved their authority, I shall omit these; and to be as just in my proof as I can, I shall only select those instances, which are contrary either to the generally agreed articles of the Christian religion, which have been proved true above, Cor. II. Prop. II. or to more than one or two of our present Gospels; whose agreement I think may be fairly enough urged (considered only as any other common history) against the assertions of any one particular book.

<sup>1</sup> Loc. jam cit. p. 78.

<sup>m</sup> Contr. Faust. Manich. lib. 19. c. 18. T. Opp. 6. *In exigua vel in*

*ipsa paucitate perdurant.* Contr. Cresc. Gram. l. 1. c. 31. T. Opp. 7.

1.) The first instance of this sort which I assign is that in the passage of Jerome above produced, Chap. XXV. N°. XV. where it is said, “The mother and brethren of Christ spake to him, and said, John the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized by him: he said to them, In what have I sinned, that I have need to go and be baptized by him? unless my saying this proceeds perhaps from ignorance.” The meaning of this passage will be best perceived from a parallel one in another apocryphal book, entitled, The Preaching of Peter, hereafter to be produced: in which it was related<sup>n</sup>, “that Christ confessed his sins, and was compelled, contrary to his own inclinations, by his mother Mary to submit to the baptism of John.” Now hence it follows,

First, *That Christ was a sinner; at least, was doubtful whether he was not so*: but this is contrary to the whole design of the Christian scheme, which is entirely founded upon the supposition of Christ being free from all manner of sin, in order to his making atonement and the necessary satisfaction. See 2 Cor. v. 21. 1 Peter ii. 22. 1 John iii. 5.

Secondly, *That Christ was unwilling to submit to the baptism of John*. But this is contrary to the certain notions we have of Christ and his conduct, who never was backward to obey any of the divine commands. Besides, St. Matthew says, (chap. iii. 15.) *he compelled John to baptize him*; so far was he from being unwilling. To which it may be worth adding, that after this Gospel had related the baptism of Jesus by John, it a little after adds, that John was desirous to be baptized by Jesus, and then confounding St. Matthew’s words, says that of Christ’s denying John baptism, which St. Matthew says of John’s denying Christ baptism, and makes Christ to give that as a reason for his not baptizing John, which St. Matthew says he gave as a reason for his being baptized by John. For so the words of it are related by Epiphanius, (above, Chap. XXV. N°. XI.) “John fell down before him and said, O Lord, I pray thee baptize me: but he hindered him, saying, that it is so fit all things should be fulfilled;” on which that father justly censures that Gospel for *falsehood, disorder, and confusion*.

<sup>n</sup> Tract. de non iterand. Baptism. ad calc. Opp. Cypriani.

2.) The next instance of falsehood I observe in that Gospel is that history related by Jerome, (above, Chap. XXV. No. XIV.) concerning James's oath, "that he would not eat bread "from that hour in which he drank the cup of the Lord, till "he should see the Lord risen from the dead," &c. This is not only an idle fable, but contrary to known fact; for it has been long a very just observation, that as our *Lord's disciples seem to have had few higher expectations from him than the advancements of a temporal kingdom*<sup>o</sup>; so they either did not believe, or but faintly believe, that he should be put to death, and rise again. As to their disbelief of his resurrection, (which is all I have to do with now,) the matter is very easily gathered from the whole conduct of the apostles before his crucifixion, but especially from the relations of our evangelists of what happened afterwards. So Mark tells us, that when Mary Magdalen had seen him after his resurrection, she told his disciples that he was alive, and had been seen of her; but they believed her not<sup>p</sup>; as also, when two of the apostles had seen him, and affirmed it to the rest, they did not believe them<sup>q</sup>; and that upon Christ's appearing to them all assembled, he upbraided them for their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen<sup>r</sup>. St. Luke expresses this somewhat more strongly, viz. that when report was made to the apostles of Christ's resurrection, *the words of them* (who related it) *seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not*<sup>s</sup>. And St. John, speaking of himself and Peter<sup>t</sup>, saith, *They knew not the scripture as yet, that Christ must rise again from the dead*. Now after such plain testimonies, there is not any room left to question the truth of the fact, which by consequence demonstrates the falsehood of the Nazarene Gospel, which supposes the apostle James, not only before Christ died, to be persuaded of his death, but also to be very positive in his belief, both before his crucifixion and afterwards, that he should rise again.

3.) To the two former may be added the account Jerome more than once gives us out of it, that at our Saviour's cruci-

<sup>o</sup> See my Vindication of Matthew,  
c. 12. p. 117, 118.

<sup>p</sup> Chap. xvi. 9, 10, 11.

<sup>q</sup> V. 12, 13.

<sup>r</sup> V. 14.

<sup>s</sup> Ch. xxiv. 11.

<sup>t</sup> Ch. xx. 9.

fixion a "large lintel, or beam of the temple," (see above, Chap. XXV. N<sup>o</sup>. XXIV. XXV.) "was rent and fell down," contrary to three of our evangelists, who say, this happened *to the veil of the temple*<sup>u</sup> at that time.

2. I argue further, that this Hebrew Gospel was apocryphal by Prop. IX. *as it contained several ludicrous and trifling, or silly and fabulous relations.* Such certainly is that (referred to by Origen above, Chap. XXV. N<sup>o</sup>. IV. and Jerome, N<sup>o</sup>. XVIII. as also N<sup>o</sup>. XVII.) concerning Christ's saying, "that his mother, the Holy Ghost, laid hold of him by one of his hairs, and carried him into the great mountain Thabor," &c. And that of the Holy Ghost's saying, "My Son, during all the time of the prophets I was waiting for thee, that I might rest upon thee, for thou art my rest;" mentioned by Jerome, N<sup>o</sup>. XVI. *Such is that of the rich man's scratching his head,* when Christ bade him sell all, and give to the poor, mentioned by Origen, N<sup>o</sup>. V.

3. It may be further proved apocryphal by Prop. X. *as it contained things later than the times of their being said, or in which it pretended to be written.* Such seems to me that declaration said to be made by our Saviour above, (Chap. XXV. N<sup>o</sup>. XII.) "that he came to abolish all sacrifices, and denounce the wrath of God upon all those who did sacrifice." It is certain, from the whole of our Saviour's conduct, that he was more careful than to give any such offence to the Jews, and purposely declined all such express opposition to, and abolishment of, the Mosaic economy, as in several other instances is obvious to observe. I take this therefore to be the forgery of a person, who lived not only after our Saviour's time, but even after the time of St. Matthew's writing, when the controversy was hot between the Gentile and Judaizing Christians. Such also seems to me that compellation, with which our Saviour addresses himself to James, (in that passage of Jerome, N<sup>o</sup>. XIV.) *Mi frater, my brother*; a title not known to be given by our Saviour, nor in those early times when St. Matthew wrote, but afterwards very common among the Christians.

Thus much may suffice to prove the Gospel of the Nazarenes apocryphal; I shall conclude with a short account,

<sup>u</sup> Matt. xxvii. 51. Mark xv. 38. Luke xxiii. 45.

V. Of what seems most probable to me, *of the nature and design of this famous book, with some short account of the heretics who received it.*

I take it to *have been an early translation of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew into Hebrew, with the addition of many fabulous relations and erroneous doctrines, composed in the name of the twelve apostles, by some convert or converts to Christianity among the Jews, who with their profession of Christ retained their zeal and affection for the law of Moses, with the most preposterous and absurd notions concerning Christ and the Christian religion.*

The several parts of this hypothesis will appear by the following aphorisms.

1. *The Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Greek, and not in Hebrew.* This I having so largely proved in another book shall take here for granted. See Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, Chap. XVII. XVIII. XIX.

2. *That the Nazarene Gospel was compiled out of St. Matthew's is very evident,* because it is so frequently called by his name, (as above,) which cannot be imagined to have happened upon any other supposition, since there was another Gospel extant under his name. One remark I have made out of a fragment of it in Epiphanius, Chap. preced. N<sup>o</sup>. XI. which seems to me to demonstrate, that it was made out of St. Matthew's Greek. For whereas in this we read, chap. iii. 4. that *John the Baptist's food in the wilderness was ἀκρίδες καὶ μέλι ἄγριον*, i. e. *locusts and wild honey*; instead thereof in the Nazarene Gospel we read, *his food was μέλι ἄγριον, οὃ ἡ γεῦσις ἦν τοῦ μάννα ὡς ἐγκρίς*, *wild honey, whose taste was like manna, or cakes made with honey and oil.* Now, forasmuch as it is certain that locusts were a very common food in those eastern countries, as is undeniably proved by Bochart<sup>x</sup>, and such food seems very agreeable to the rest of John's way of life, it is but reasonable to conclude our present Greek reading (viz. ἀκρίδες) to be the true and authentic one; and if so, then it is evident that this Nazarene Gospel was a translation of St. Matthew's Greek, and that the translator read ἐγκρίδες instead of ἀκρίδες,

<sup>x</sup> Hierozoic. par. 2. l. 4. c. 7. See also sir Norton Knatchbull's Annotations on that place of Matthew.



and being a Jew, accustomed to the use of the Septuagint Greek Bibles, very probably was led thereto by the Septuagint translation of those words, Exod. xvi. 31. Τὸ δὲ γεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔγκρις ἐν μέλιτι, or as it is in Num. xi. 8. Καὶ ἦν ἡ ἡδονὴ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ γεῦμα ἔγκρις ἐξ ἐλαίου. And this by the way seems a very demonstrative proof, that St. Matthew's present Greek was not a translation out of Hebrew, seeing there was no possibility of such a mistake in reading the Hebrew word, as to translate it ἀκριδες, where it ought to have been translated ἔγκριδες.

3. That it pretended to be made by the twelve apostles is evident from its bearing that title; as also from a passage of that fragment in Epiphanius, (which is above, N<sup>o</sup>. XI.) where we read, *there was a certain man named Jesus, about thirty years of age, who chose us to be his apostles*: where it is plain the writer speaks in the name of them all, or at least of several; just as in the pretended Constitutions of the Apostles we continually read of exhortations and commands given in the name of all the apostles. Nor do I know any reason for disputing whether it bore this title, save only that Beda is supposed to distinguish between the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles, in the place above cited, Chap. XXVI. N<sup>o</sup>. I. See the passage at length in Sixtus Senensis<sup>y</sup>: but upon a strict inquiry I do not perceive that Beda has at all distinguished them, but rather that Dr. Grabe<sup>z</sup> and Mr. Fabritius<sup>a</sup> are mistaken in supposing he did.

4. That it was a very early composition, I make no doubt, from the early mention we have of it. It is not improbable (as I have said) that it was referred to by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, which was written about the year of Christ LVII or LVIII. It was undoubtedly extant in the beginning of the second century; though nothing seems more absurd than Dr. Grabe's opinion, that it was written before St. Matthew wrote his. It is like supposing the child born before his father.

5. That it had in it many idle and fabulous, as well as false and erroneous relations, is largely proved already. These are

<sup>y</sup> Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. p. 64. ad voc. Hebræorum.

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. par. 1. p. 351.

<sup>z</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. I, t. 1. p. 16.

so many, and so very notorious, that I wonder how father Simon could have so high an opinion either of these or the Gospel that contained them. Can any one unprejudiced give the preference to such a heap of fables, and contradictions, above St. Matthew's plain and consistent accounts?

But because that learned writer was so far prejudiced in favour of this Hebrew Gospel, *as to prefer it to the Greek of St. Matthew, even with all these differences*, I would argue a little upon his own hypothesis against him. Suppose, then, our Greek copies of St. Matthew were really a translation out of the Hebrew, in which that apostle first wrote; how came it to pass that the Greek translation should be so very different from its original, as it is in every one of the remaining passages? This difference cannot be supposed to have happened but upon one of these two following accounts; viz. either,

First, Because the version was made when the Hebrew original was more pure, and that these additions were made by the Nazarenes afterwards; or,

Secondly, Because the author of the Greek version epitomised it, and altered it according to his own mind.

Father Simon<sup>b</sup>, according as it served his purpose, supposes both these, though most evidently contradictory to each other; seeing the difference could not proceed from both causes. But whichever of them we suppose true, will overthrow his hypothesis; for *if we say the first, viz. that the Greek version was made before the Nazarene additions*, it follows, their Gospel must now be esteemed apocryphal, because the alterations and additions were so great, as not to have left scarce any thing of St. Matthew remaining: for there is not one of all the fragments now extant, but differs from St. Matthew's Greek; which, according to the supposition, is pure and perfect, being made before the Nazarene alterations. *If he say the latter, viz. that the difference proceeds from the fault of the Greek translator*; then I answer, that this supposes the things in which the Nazarene Gospel differs from St. Matthew's Greek, to be good and useful; which is contrary to what has been above proved.

6. This Hebrew Gospel, or translation of St. Matthew's

<sup>b</sup> See his Crit. Hist. of N. T. part 1. c. 7, 9.

Greek into Hebrew, with the forementioned additions and interpolations, *seems to have been made by some convert Jews, to favour their notions of mixing Judaism and Christianity together.* That there was very early such a sort of persons of the Jewish nations, who were for uniting their old religion with the new one of Christ, is evident from a great part of St. Paul's Epistles; three of which seem purposely to be written against them; viz. that to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. That these were principally delighted with the Gospel entitled, *according to the Hebrews*, (ὡς μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι,) we are expressly assured by Eusebius<sup>c</sup>, as well as by many other ancient writers. Of this Gospel they had so prodigiously great an opinion, that for the sake of it *they contemned and rejected all others, and only made use of this*: so we are told by Irenæus<sup>d</sup>, Eusebius<sup>e</sup>, and others. Now hence it seems undeniably to follow, that there were in this Gospel several things which favoured their peculiar notions, and consequently that it was made by some Christianized Jew, or rather Judaizing Christian<sup>f</sup>.

That which remains is only to give some brief account of the Nazarenes, who used this Gospel.

They are said by Epiphanius "to have arose from some "Christian Jews, who went from Jerusalem to Pella." It is very uncertain why they were called by this name. He who has a mind may see a plausible account in Dr. Mangey's Answer to Mr. Toland's Nazarenus, c. 8. Out of these sprang the Ebionites, who had in a great measure the same opinions with the Nazarenes<sup>h</sup>, and yet are made two distinct sects by Epiphanius. The truth is, they are so confounded by that father, that one can scarce tell how to give any clear account of them. But to do it in the best manner I can, I shall give the reader an abstract out of Irenæus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, in the following manner.

*Concerning the Nazarenes.*

1. They maintained the perpetual obligation of the law of

*Concerning the Ebionites.*

1. They obliged themselves to the observation of all things com-

<sup>c</sup> Histor. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Adv. Hæres. 1. 1. c. 26.

<sup>e</sup> Eccl. Hist. 1. 3. c. 27.

<sup>f</sup> This would probably admit no doubt,

if more of it had been preserved.

<sup>g</sup> Hæres. 29. §. 7. See also Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 3. c. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Epiph. Hæres. 29. §. 1.

Moses, and differed only from the Jews, in that they professed the name of Christ, and urged, as necessary, the use of sacrifices, circumcision, &c.<sup>1</sup>

2. They denied the divinity of Christ, asserting him to be a mere man; so we read in Theodoret, that they looked upon him only as a just and good man. Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 2.<sup>1</sup>

3. They used the Gospel according to Matthew in the Hebrew, most entire, according to Epiphanius, who adds, that he was uncertain whether they had taken away out of it the genealogy from Abraham to Christ, or no.<sup>2</sup>

manded in the law of Moses, such as sacrifices, circumcision, &c. professed enemies to St. Paul and his writings, because he wrote so warmly against the law.<sup>k</sup>

2. They all looked upon Christ as a mere creature; some asserting him a mere man, born, as other men, of Joseph and Mary.<sup>m</sup> Others confessed him to have come from heaven, but made before all, and being a superangelical creature, had the dominion of all.<sup>n</sup>

3. They made use of St. Matthew's Gospel alone,<sup>p</sup> and that in Hebrew<sup>q</sup>, but according to Epiphanius, not entire, but corrupted and adulterated<sup>r</sup>, and took away the genealogy from it<sup>s</sup>, and began their Gospel with these words; *And it came to pass in the days of Herod*<sup>t</sup>, &c.

It is plain therefore, that there was a very great agreement between these two ancient sects; and though they went under different names, yet they seem only to differ in this, that the Ebionites had made some additions to the old Nazarene system; for Origen expressly tells us<sup>u</sup>, *Καὶ Ἐβιοναῖοι χρηματίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡς Χριστὸν παραδείξμενοι*, "They were called Ebionites who from among the Jews own Jesus to be the Christ." And though Epiphanius seems to make their Gospels different, calling one *πληρέστατον*, *most entire*, the

<sup>1</sup> Epiph. Hæres. 29. §. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 26. Euseb. l. 3. c. 27. Epiph. Hær. 30. §. 1, 2.

<sup>l</sup> Epiphanius indeed was uncertain of it; but the matter cannot be questioned by any who read what he hath wrote. Hær. 29. §. 7. &c.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 27. and Hær. 30. §. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Hær. 30. §. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Hær. 29. §. 9.

<sup>p</sup> Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 26.

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 27.

<sup>r</sup> Hæres. 30. §. 13.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Contr. Cels. lib. 2. p. 56. See the same also Epist. Hier. ad Augustin. Vid. Spencer. Annotation. in loc. Orig. p. 33, 34.

other οὐ πληρέστατον, *not entire*, yet this need not move us; for if the learned Casaubon's conjecture should not be right, *that we should read the same*, viz. οὐ πληρέστατον, *in both places*\*: (which yet is very probable for any thing father Simon has proved to the contrary :) yet will the difficulty be all removed at once by this single consideration, *that Epiphanius never saw any Gospel of the Nazarenes*; for though he calls it πληρέστατον, yet he himself says, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας περιῖλον γ, "that he did not know whether they had taken "away the genealogy, as the Ebionites had done," i. e. having never seen the Nazarene Gospel, for ought he knew, it might be the very same with that of the Ebionites, as indeed it most certainly was.

## CHAP. XXX.

*The Acts of Paul and Thecla extant in the Bodleian library, and published by Dr. Grabe. Acts of Paul a different book. These falsely supposed by Dr. Mill to be wrote by faithful Christians, A. D. LXIX. to supply the defects of Luke's history of the Apostles' Acts. A silly forgery rejected by all the ancients who name it. The Preaching of Paul and Peter one book. A book under the name of Paul. The Anabaticon or Revelation of Paul generally thought to have been two books. A ridiculous blunder of Mr. Toland's, relating to it. Proved by several arguments to be only different titles of the same book. A conjecture concerning a passage of Tertullian, wherein he refers to this book. The title of a revelation under the name of Paul now extant in a manuscript in the library of Merton college at Oxford.*

Nº. XLIII. *The Acts of Paul and Thecla.*

THESE are mentioned by Tertullian, and from him by Jerome, and afterwards by Gelasius.

1. Tertullian<sup>z</sup>, in his Treatise of Baptism, mentions it thus.

Quod si qui Pauli perperam scripta legunt, exemplum Theclæ ad

But if any read the apocryphal books of Paul, and defend the

\* See this conjecture in his Exercitationes against Baronius, ad Ann. Christi XXXIV. N. 165. p. 486. It is rejected by Simon, Critic. Hist. of the

New Test. part 1. c. 7. p. 65. Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. N. T. par. 1. p. 369.

<sup>y</sup> Hæres. 29. in fine.

<sup>z</sup> Cap. 17.

licentiam mulierum docendi tingendique defendunt, sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli, de suo cumulans, convictum, atque confessum, id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco discessisse.

right of women to preach and baptize, by the *example of Thecla*, let them consider, that a presbyter of Asia, who forged that book, and adorned his performance with *the title of Paul*, was convicted (of the forgery), and confessed that he did it out of respect to Paul, and thereupon left his place.

## 2. Jerome, in his *Life of Luke*<sup>a</sup>.

Periodos Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptisati leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. Quale enim est, ut individuis comes apostoli inter cæteras ejus res hoc solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus, vicinus eorum temporum, refert presbyterum quendam in Asia, σπουδαστην, i. e. amatorem Pauli, convictum apud Joannem quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, et loco excidisse.

The Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the whole story of the baptized lion, I reckon among the apocryphal scriptures; for what sort of thing must it be, which the constant companion of the apostle should be ignorant of, and no other thing which he did? But Tertullian, who lived near those times, relates, that a certain presbyter of Asia, an admirer of Paul, being convicted by St. John, that he was the author of the book, confessed that he did it out of love to Paul, and so left his place.

## 3. Gelasius, in his Decree.

Liber, qui appellatur Actus Theclæ et Pauli, apocryphus.

The book, which is called The Acts of Thecla and Paul, is apocryphal<sup>b</sup>.

I need not be at much pains here in making any critical remarks on this book. The learned Dr. Grabe has lately published, out of a manuscript in the Bodleian library, a book entitled, *Μαρτύριον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀποστόλου Θεκλᾶς*, "The Martyrology, or Acts of the pious and celebrated first martyr and apostle Thecla<sup>c</sup>." This he believes<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Catal. vir. illust. in Luca.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Toland (*Amyntor*, p. 30.) has the goodness to refer us to a place in St. Austin, and another in Epiphanius, where these Acts are mentioned; but

I must do him the justice to tell him, there is no such book mentioned in either place.

<sup>c</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. I. t. i. p. 95.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 90. 95.

to be the very same with the Acts of Paul and Thecla, mentioned by Tertullian, Jerome, and Gelasius; and indeed there is this good argument to support his opinion, that what Tertullian saith was urged out of these Acts, viz. *the example of Thecla, to countenance the practice of women's preaching and baptizing, is to be found in this manuscript which he has published*; see p. 114. 116. &c. I must therefore look upon this as a book extant, and so shall defer the consideration of it to the next volume of this work, where I design (God willing) to produce this and other such pieces now extant, in their original languages, with an English translation.

#### Nº. XLIV. The Acts of Paul.

CONCERNING this old apocryphal piece, we have but very little that is certain now left. It is mentioned;

##### 1. By Origen, giving a description of Christ<sup>e</sup>.

Unde et recte mihi dictus videtur sermo ille, qui in Actibus Pauli scriptus est, Quia hic est Verbum, animal vivens.

Wherefore that saying seems to me right, which is written in the Acts of Paul, *That this is the Word, a living animal.*

##### 2. By the same<sup>f</sup>.

Εἰ τῷ δὲ φίλον παραδέξασθαι τὸ ἐν ταῖς Παύλου πράξεσιν ἀναγεγραμμένον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρημένον, Ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι.

But if any one please to admit that which is written in the Acts of Paul, as spoken by our Saviour, *I am about to be crucified again.*

##### 3. By Eusebius<sup>g</sup>.

Οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις παρείληφα.

As for that book, which is entitled The Acts of Paul, I have not found it among those of undoubted authority.

##### 4. By the same<sup>h</sup>.

Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφή, &c.

The Acts of Paul are to be ranked among those books which are spurious.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. 1. Περὶ ἀρχῶν, parum ab initio, cap. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Tom. 21. in Joann. pag. 298.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccl. 1. 3. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Cap. 25.

5. By Philastrius<sup>i</sup>.

Habent Manichæi—Actus Pauli    The Manichees have also the  
pariter apocryphi, &c.                Acts of Paul, which are apocry-  
phal.

These are the several places where these Acts are mentioned. I readily agree with Dr. Grabe<sup>k</sup>, *they were not the same with the Acts of Paul and Thecla in the last number*; but must utterly dissent from him in saying, that *Eusebius places it in the catalogue of books which were doubted of only by some*: whereas nothing can be more plain, than that he ranks it with the *ψευδοίς*, or spurious books; which are in the worst class. Nor is it less absurd in Dr. Mill<sup>l</sup> to suppose, “that these Acts of Paul were compiled by “some faithful Christians about the year of Christ LXIX. to “supply (as he calls it) *imperfectam historiam Pauli quam “tradiderat Lucas,*” i. e. *those imperfect accounts which are contained in the [now received] Acts of the Apostles which were written by Luke.* For besides that he offers no manner of argument for his hypothesis, it is sufficient to destroy it, that “Eusebius reckons it among the spurious books, and “Philastrius among those silly books, which contained abundance of strange stories, about dogs and beasts speaking, &c. “and for that reason, that the souls of men were like the souls “of those animals.” Although I cannot but here own, that perhaps Philastrius may speak of those Acts of Paul which are mentioned by Photius<sup>m</sup>, and attributed to Leucius Charinus by him.

As to the two passages taken out of these Acts by Origen, it is plain he appeals to them, and the book whence he takes them, not as being of authority. Accordingly he introduces them thus: “The saying seems to me right, and if any one “please to admit that which is written in the Acts of Paul,” &c. which are forms of speech he would never have used concerning any book, which he thought to be of undoubted authority. Besides, to say nothing of the first of those passages, which is most obscure and unintelligible, to say no worse, viz.

<sup>i</sup> Hæres. Apocrypha quæ est 87. See it above in this part, Chap. XXI.

<sup>k</sup> Lib. cit. p. 86.

<sup>l</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 130.

<sup>m</sup> Cod. CXIV. See the place at large above, Chap. XXI.



"That he is the Word, a living animal;" the latter is borrowed from a most ridiculous history, which is still extant in the fabulous Lives of the Apostles under the name of Abdias, (viz. in the Life of Peter, c. 19.) The story in short is, "That after the decree of Nero to apprehend Peter at Rome, he was at length prevailed upon by his friends, contrary to his own inclinations, to endeavour his escape; accordingly having in the night fled as far as the city gates, he saw Christ coming to meet him: to whom he said, Lord! Whither art thou going? Christ answered, I come to Rome to be crucified again:" (which are the words of the passage in Origen :) "Peter understood this as an intimation that he ought to suffer, and thereupon returned, and was crucified."

Upon the whole, then, it is reasonable to conclude these Acts of Paul apocryphal, by Prop. IV. V. VI. and IX; and therefore that Mr. Whiston is much mistaken, when he says it is to be looked upon in some sense as a sacred book <sup>n</sup>.

#### No. XLV. *The Preaching of Paul and Peter.*

THIS ancient apocryphal book appears very clearly to have been the same with that entitled, The Preaching of Peter; not only from some passages in Clemens Alexandrinus, but from the account which Lactantius<sup>o</sup> gives of it. "Peter and Paul," says he, "preached at Rome, and that preaching continues still, being committed to writing:" but though it went under both the name of Paul and Peter, yet it generally was called by the name of Peter; and therefore I shall defer the consideration of it, till I come to consider the books under his name in the ensuing chapters. See Chap. XXXIII. No. LII.

#### No. XLVI. *A book under the name of Paul.*

AS for this book, although I indeed placed it in the catalogue, Part I. yet upon an after and more careful inquiry into it, I find it so evident, *that it was a book forged by one Lucian, a confessor, in the middle of the third century, in the name of Paul the martyr, and not St. Paul the apostle*, as some have thought, that I shall think it enough to refer the reader to the places in Cyprian where this is most manifest. See Epist. 22, 23. in the beginning of each.

<sup>n</sup> Essay on Constit. p. 24.

<sup>o</sup> Lib. 4. c. 21.

Nº. XLVII. *The Revelation, or Anabaticon of Paul.*

I HAVE given this book these two different titles, because I find it went under both among the ancients; though it has been thought by several learned men, that they were the titles of two different books. How true this is, I shall inquire, after I have first produced the places where it is mentioned by the ancients. These are,

1. Epiphanius<sup>p</sup>, who gives us the following account of it : speaking concerning the *ridiculous sect of the Caiianites*<sup>q</sup>, and an absurd book of their tenets, adds ;

Πάλιν δὲ ἄλλο συνταγμάτιον  
πλάττουσιν ἐξ ὀνόματος Παύλου  
τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀρρήτουργίας ἔμ-  
πειρον, ᾧ καὶ οἱ Γνωστικοὶ λεγό-  
μενοι χρῶνται, ὃ Ἀναβατικὸν  
Παύλου καλοῦσι, τὴν πρόφασιν  
εὐρόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν τὸν ἀπό-  
στολον ἀναβεβηκέναι ἕως τρίτου  
οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀκηκοέναι ἀρρήτα ῥή-  
ματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆ-  
σαι. Καὶ ταῦτα, φασίν, ἐστὶ τὰ  
ἀρρήτα ῥήματα.

That they forged besides another book, under the name of Paul the apostle, full of things which it was not lawful to utter ; which they who are called the Gnosticks also use, which they entitle, The Anabaticon of Paul ; taking the occasion [of the forgery] from that saying of the apostle, that he ascended up into the third heaven, and heard things which it was not lawful for men to utter. And these, say they, are the things.

2. Austin<sup>r</sup>, speaking of the different attainments of some good men in knowledge, adds ;

Quidam spiritualium ad ea pervenerunt, quæ non licet homini loqui ; qua occasione vani quidam Apocalypsin Pauli, quam sana non recipit ecclesia, nescio quibus fabulis plenam stultissima præsumptione finxerunt, dicentes hanc esse unde dixerat raptum se fuisse in tertium cœlum, et illic audisse ineffabilia verba, quæ non licet homini loqui. Utunque illorum tolerabilis esset audacia, si se audisse dixisset, quæ adhuc

Some Christians arrived to the knowledge of those things which cannot be uttered : on which occasion some vain persons, with a most ridiculous impudence, forged [a book entitled] The Revelation of Paul, which the true church doth not receive ; it being filled with I know not what sort of strange stories ; pretending that it was on account of the things contained in this book, that he said *he was taken up into the*

<sup>p</sup> Hæres. 38. §. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Concerning these monstrous heretics, see above, Chap. XX. Nº. XXVIII.

<sup>r</sup> Tractat. xcvi. in Joan. in ipso extremo. T. Opp. 9.

non licet homini loqui; cum vero dixerit quæ non licet homini loqui; isti qui sunt, qui hæc audeant impudenter et infeliciter loqui?

*third heavens, and there heard unutterable words, which it was not lawful for a man to speak.* Their impudence had indeed been tolerable, if he had said that he heard things which it was not lawful *as yet* for a man to utter; but since he speaks [absolutely] of things which it was not lawful *at all* to utter, what strange sort of persons must they be, who would thus impudently blunder?

### 3. Gelasius, in his Decree.

Revelatio, quæ appellatur Pauli apostoli apocrypha.

The Revelation under the name of Paul the apostle, is apocryphal.

These are all the places within my limited time, in which this book is mentioned; *though it was in being some ages after*, as I shall shew presently. I have joined these places together, as supposing the Anabaticon of Paul mentioned by Epiphanius, and the Revelation of Paul mentioned by Austin and pope Gelasius, *to be only one and the same book*, under two different (and indeed scarce different) titles. I confess, most of the learned writers that I have seen, who have mentioned any thing of this matter, suppose them to have been two different books. Thus Dr. Cave, enumerating the spurious pieces fathered upon St. Paul<sup>s</sup>, first recites the Anabaticon mentioned by Epiphanius, and then, as distinct from it, the Revelation mentioned by Austin: so Du Pin also recites them distinctly<sup>t</sup>, though in a note at the bottom of the page he seems to think they were the same. Dr. Grabe<sup>u</sup> not only supposes them *different books*, but made *at very different times*, viz. *the Anabaticon in the second century, and the Revelation in the latter end of the fourth*, between the years 396 and 392. Mr. Spanheim<sup>x</sup> also, and father Simony<sup>y</sup>, recite them as *two different books*. So also (as one would imagine) after these

<sup>s</sup> Histor. Liter. in Paulo, p. 7.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. of the Canon, vol. 2. chap. 6.

§. 6. p. 129, 130.

<sup>u</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. I. p. 84, 85.

<sup>x</sup> Histor. Christ. Sæcul. I. p. 58.

<sup>y</sup> Crit. Hist. of New Test. c. 3. p. 26.

does Mr. Toland, to augment his catalogue<sup>z</sup>; but nothing can be more humorous than to observe his blunder herein. He *first places the Revelation of Paul*, and refers to Epiphanius, Hæres. 38. §. 2. which is the place where he mentions the Anabaticon, and then *in the next page recites the Anabaticon of St. Paul*, and refers to the same place of Epiphanius (viz. Hæres. 38. §. 2.); which is, as if he had said, *The Anabaticon and Revelation of Paul are two distinct books, and they are so, because Epiphanius mentions but one*. Such mistakes, so frequent, are, to say no worse, unbecoming any man that pretends to learning. I desire Mr. Toland to be more careful and honest in the future attacks he threatens to make upon the canon. But to leave him. Mr. Fabritius<sup>a</sup>, following Dr. Grabe, supposes the Revelation and Anabaticon books of two different subjects, viz. *the latter containing the fancies of the Gnosticks, and the former made not till the end of the fourth century by some Christian monks, containing the rules of their way of life*.

Notwithstanding this so great agreement of learned writers in this matter, I think the contrary opinion most undeniable, viz. that the Anabaticon of Paul mentioned by Epiphanius, and the Revelation mentioned by Austin and Gelasius, were one and the same book. And this I argue,

First, From the consideration that the *design, occasion of writing*, as well as the *main subject of the Anabaticon and the Revelation were the same*. This will appear by a comparison of Epiphanius and Austin together<sup>b</sup>.

*Epiphanius concerning the  
Anabaticon of Paul.*

The occasion of this forgery was St. Paul's saying, *He ascended into the third heavens, and heard things which it was not lawful to utter*.

*St. Austin concerning the  
Revelation of Paul.*

The occasion of this Revelation was, that some Christians had arrived to the knowledge of things which it was not lawful to utter.

That he means Paul, is plain by what follows.

The contents of this book were

This book pretended to give an

<sup>a</sup> Amyntor, p. 32.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. par. 2.

p. 945.

<sup>b</sup> See the places above in this chapter.

the unutterable things which account of those things which Paul heard in the third heavens. St. Paul heard, and said, were *καὶ ταῦτα, φασὶν, &c.* unutterable.

These must be the contents of the same book ; agreeable to which,

Secondly, *The titles Anabaticon and Apocalypsis were both adjusted*; the former denoting *Paul's ascent and the visions he had in the third heavens* ; or, as Mr. Du Pin's English translator renders it, *The rapture of Paul* : the latter denoting the *visions or revelations, as in that book discovered*. So that if we were to translate these two titles into English, one might not unjustly do it thus: *The History of St. Paul's Ascent into the third Heavens* ; or, *An Account of the Visions and Revelations which he had there*.

This may suffice to prove these only two different titles of one book ; which difference is very well conjectured<sup>c</sup> by Dr. Mill "to have happened when this book was afterwards translated into Latin."

All that is urged to prove them distinct books is by Dr. Grabe and Mr. Fabritius<sup>d</sup>, viz. "that the Revelation is not mentioned till St. Austin, and therefore probably was not made before his time, whereas the Anabaticon was made by the Caianites in the second century; and whereas the former contained the principles of the Gnosticks, the latter contained the rules of the monastic life." But both these objections are founded upon the most precarious foundation: for as to the first, viz. *the books not being mentioned before*, it is a plain begging of the question ; first supposing them two distinct books, and then proving they are so by that supposition. Besides, if the silence of the writers of the age, in or after which any book be supposed to be made, be a good argument that it was not then made, then must a great number of books be brought many years back ; and particularly what will become of the antiquity of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and the Gospel of the Egyptians ? which, though Dr. Grabe supposes to be written before St. Luke's Gospel, are not either of them mentioned by name till near three hundred years after Christ.

<sup>c</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 364. <sup>d</sup> Locis supra allegatis in hoc capite.

As to the latter, viz. *the monks using it, and being delighted with it*, it is much weaker than the former. The argument stands fairly thus: the monks of the fourth century were much delighted with the Revelation of Paul, therefore it was made then: they used it, therefore they forged it. Sozomen indeed relates a fabulous account of this Revelation "being found in the time of Theodosius the emperor, in a marble chest, hid under ground at the house of St. Paul, at Tarsus in Cilicia, to which they were directed by God;" but he adds, "that he was assured by a presbyter of Tarsus, who was very old, that this was not fact; but he supposed the book forged by the heretics." He further says, "it was a book much commended by the monks<sup>c</sup>;" but there is nothing in this story that will prove it a forgery of that time; for the book may be supposed extant long before, but by this artifice of the monks imposed upon the world, as more valuable and extraordinary.

The Anabaticon therefore, and the Revelation of Paul, being one and the same book, it only remains now, that I endeavour to prove it apocryphal: and that it is so, is evident by Prop. IV. V. and VI. I add also, by Prop. VIII. as the whole design of it was contrary to a known and undoubted fact. 2 Cor. xii. 4. &c. St. Paul there says, *he heard unutterable words* (ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὶν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι) *which it was not in the power of any man to declare*: which if it be true, (as the book itself supposes,) then they attempted in writing what was utterly impossible to be wrote, and so unhappily blundered, as that the whole design of their work was a mere contradiction to the title. (See Austin above.)

Tertullian<sup>f</sup> has a passage in his Book against the Heretics, which (if my judgment do not much fail me) may be very justly applied to this Revelation of Paul; and if it may, will afford a good argument to prove it apocryphal. He is treating concerning the harmony of the apostles' doctrines; and then adds<sup>g</sup>,

Sed et si in tertium usque cœlum  
ereptus Paulus, et in paradisum  
delatus, audiit quædam illic; non  
possunt videri ea fuisse, quæ il-

Yea, and though Paul was taken  
up to the third heavens, and be-  
ing brought into paradise, heard  
some certain things there, they

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Eccles. l. vii. c. 19. <sup>f</sup> De Præscript. adv. Hæret. c. 24. <sup>g</sup> Loc. cit.

lum in aliam doctrinam instructiorem præstarent; cum ita fuerit conditio eorum, ut nulli hominum proderentur. Quod si ad alicujus conscientiam manavit nescio quid illud, et hoc se aliqua hæresis sequi affirmat, aut Paulus secreti proditi reus est, aut et alius postea in paradisum ereptus debet ostendi, cui permissum sit eloqui quæ Paulo mutire non licuit.

cannot be thought such, as would make him capable of preaching any new doctrines; seeing they were of that sort, that they could not be revealed or communicated to any man. *But if any one imagine he have the knowledge of these strange revelations, and there be any sort of heretics, who declare they will be governed by them, [let them consider,] that either Paul must have been guilty of betraying the secret committed to him, or else they must produce some other person, who has since been taken up to paradise, who had permission to speak those things freely, of which St. Paul durst not utter a word.*

Nothing can be more probable, than that these words have a reference to the written Revelations we are treating of. It is certain by the passage, that there were some who pretended to know what St. Paul saw in the third heavens, and that there were a peculiar sort of heretics, who governed themselves according to them. How little different this is from what Epiphanius above says of the Gnosticks and Caianites, every unprejudiced reader will acknowledge, who compares the places. In this interpretation I have the satisfaction to agree with Pamelius<sup>h</sup>, who remarks on these words of Tertullian thus: "You see there have been some who affirmed they both knew and read in a writing of St. Paul's own, the secrets he heard in heaven; affirming that he both preached them, and committed them to writing." This learned writer afterwards cites the place of Epiphanius concerning the Anabaticon, that of Austin and Gelasius concerning the Revelation, as all speaking of one and the same book.

Upon the whole then, it is evident it was a spurious piece; and that as neither Paul did nor could write it, so neither could any one else give any true account of what that book pre-

<sup>h</sup> Annot. in loc. Tertull.

tended to. I only add, that Dionysius Alexandrinus, a noted writer early in the third century, assures us<sup>i</sup>, Παύλου διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑποφάναντός τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων αὐτοῦ, ὅς οὐκ ἐνέγραψε καθ' αὐτάς. That “though Paul in his Epistles has made “some mention of his revelations, yet he never committed “them to writing;” and that as Mr. Du Pin says, the “Egyptians boast of having this Revelation by them to this very “day<sup>k</sup>,” so Dr. Grabe<sup>l</sup> tells us of a manuscript in the library of Merton college in Oxford, entitled thus, *The Revelation of Paul, (containing what passed) in those three days; when upon his being called and converted by Christ, he fell upon the ground, and saw nothing; being an account of the revelations he had from St. Michael, concerning the various and dreadful punishments of purgatory and hell, and who it was that first prevailed upon the Lord to grant rest to the souls in purgatory on every Lord's day afterwards, to the end of the world.* But neither of these were the old Revelation, of which I have been treating, but much later forgeries.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*The Acts of Peter; or, the Travels of Peter, and the Recognitions of Clemens, differing titles of the same book now extant. The Preaching and Doctrine of Peter the same book. The Gospel of Peter. Mark's Gospel formerly ascribed to Peter; and the reasons of it. Peter's Gospel not composed by Leucius, as Dr. Grabe and Dr. Mill suppose, but a forgery of the heretics called Docetæ, and perhaps the same as the Gospel of Basilides. This proved probable by several arguments.*

### Nº. XLVIII. *The Acts of Peter.*

UNDER the name of this apostle I find mention among the ancients of several spurious pieces; and particularly by several of certain Acts; viz.

#### 1. By Eusebius<sup>m</sup>.

Τόγῃ μὲν τῶν ἐπισκεκλημένων Πέτρου πράξεις—οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν τοῖς

It is certain, that the book entitled, *The Acts of Peter*—is not

<sup>i</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 25.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. of the Canon, vol. 2. c. 6.

<sup>l</sup> 6. p. 130.

<sup>1</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 85.

<sup>m</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.



καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένον ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις.

by any means to be reckoned among the canonical books; inasmuch as none of the ancients, nor any of our ecclesiastical writers, have taken testimonies out of it.

## 2. By Athanasius<sup>n</sup>.

Τὰ τῆς νέας διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα, περίοδοι Πέτρου— παραγγεγραμμένα εἰςὶ πάντας καὶ νόθα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων τῶν ἀποκρύφων μάλιστα ἔγκριτον ἢ ἐκωφελες, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς νέας διαθήκης· ἀλλὰ πάντα δίχα τῶν ἀνωτέρω διαληφθέντων καὶ ἐγκριθέντων παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς σοφοῖς, ἀποκρυφῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγνώσεως ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξια, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ καλούμενα ἐν αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγέλια, ἐκτὸς τῶν παραδοθέντων ἡμῖν τεσσάρων τούτων.

The apocryphal books of the New Testament are these, The Acts [or Journeys] of Peter, &c.— They are all false, spurious, and to be rejected; none of those apocryphal books of the New Testament have been either approved, or are useful, but they have all been judged apocryphal, i. e. rather to be concealed than read, by the ancient wise men and fathers, which contain any thing contrary to the books above recited<sup>o</sup>; as also all other Gospels besides those four delivered to us.

## 3. By Jerome<sup>p</sup> in the Life of Peter.

Libri autem ejus, e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii, inter apocryphas scripturas reputantur.

But those [other] books [called] Peter's, among which one is his Acts, another his Gospel, a third his Preaching, a fourth his Revelation, a fifth his Judgment, are reckoned among the apocryphal scriptures.

## 4. By Epiphanius<sup>q</sup>, concerning the Ebionites.

Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ βιβλοῖς, δῆθεν ταῖς περιόδοις καλούμεναις Πέτρου, ταῖς διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφείσαις, νοθεύσαντες μὲν τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς, ὀλίγα δὲ ἀληθινὰ ἑάσαντες.

They make use of some other books, such as those called The Acts [or Journeys] of Peter, wrote by Clemens, in which they have left very little that is true, but inserted many spurious accounts.

<sup>n</sup> In Synops. versus fin.

<sup>o</sup> He alludes to his catalogue of the canonical books, which he had be-

fore given.

<sup>p</sup> Catal. vir. illustr. in Petro.

<sup>q</sup> Hæres. 30. §. 15.

## 5. By Gelasius, in his Decree.

Itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli, quod appellatur sancti Clementis libri octo (*alii decem*) apocryphum.

The Journeys under the name of Peter the apostle, which are called The eight (other copies read *ten*) Books of Clemens, are apocryphal.

## 6. By the same, a little after.

Actus nomine Petri apostoli apocryphi.

The Acts under the name of Peter the apostle are apocryphal.

Concerning these Acts of Peter it seems very hard to form any certain determination: I have here recited the testimonies of the Acts and Periods, or Travels of Peter, together, as of *one book*. The latter title undoubtedly belongs to that book now extant, called The Recognitions of Clement; and whether the former also did not, I confess I cannot tell. For though Gelasius does indeed mention them as distinct, yet it is observable, that in the first editions of that pope's Decree there was no such distinction, nor any mention at all of the Acts of Peter. Dr. Grabe<sup>r</sup> supposes them to have been different books, not only because of this passage of Gelasius, but because the Periods or Travels never went under the name of Peter, but Clemens; whereas the Acts always did. But in this he is mistaken, the Travels being as expressly attributed to Peter, in the place now cited of Athanasius, as the Acts can be any where else; so that, for ought I am able yet to see to the contrary, these Acts of Peter, and the Travels of Peter, written by Clemens, were the same book; and so being now extant, do not fall any further under consideration here, but must be referred to their proper place in the next volume.

Nº. XLIX. *The Doctrine of Peter.*

THIS has been clearly proved by Dr. Cave<sup>s</sup> and Dr. Grabe<sup>t</sup>, to be the same book with that entitled, The Preaching of Peter; and therefore shall be considered there, Nº. LII. and the place of Origen, where it is mentioned, produced.

Nº. L. *The Gospel of Peter.*

THIS apocryphal Gospel has been taken notice of by many

<sup>r</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. i. p. 78.

<sup>s</sup> Hist. Liter. in Petro, p. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Lib. jam cit. tom. i. p. 56.

of the ancient writers, whose accounts I shall produce, according to my usual method; i. e. the time in which they lived. It is mentioned,

1. By Serapion, in a treatise which he wrote concerning this Gospel of Peter; of which we have the following account preserved by Eusebius <sup>u</sup>.

Ἐτερός τε συντεταγμένος αὐτῷ λόγος περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον Εὐαγγελίου, ὃν πεποιήται ἀπελέγχων τὰ ψευδῶς ἐν αὐτῷ εἰρημένα, διὰ τινας ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ῥωσσὸν παροικίᾳ, προφάσει τῆς εἰσημένης γραφῆς εἰς ἑτεροδόξους διδασκαλίας ἀποκείλαντας. Ἀφ' ἧς εὐλογον βραχείας παραθέσθαι λέξεις, δι' ὧν ἦν εἶχε περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου γνώμην προτιθήσιν, οὕτω γράφων. Ἡμεῖς γάρ, ἀδελφοί, καὶ Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστόλους ἀποδεχόμεθα ὡς Χριστόν. Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματι αὐτῶν ψευδεπίγραφα ὡς ἔμπειροι παραιτούμεθα, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παρελάβομεν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, ὑπενόουν τοὺς πάντας ὀρθῇ πίστει προσφέρεισθαι, καὶ μὴ διελθὼν τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσφερόμενον ὀνόματι Πέτρου Εὐαγγέλιον, εἶπον, ὅτι εἰ τοῦτό ἐστι μόνον τὸ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν παρέχειν μικροψυχίαν, ἀναγινωσκέσθω. Νῦν δὲ μαθὼν, ὅτι αἰρέσει τινὶ ὁ νοῦς αὐτῶν ἐνεφάλευεν, ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων μοι, σπουδάσω πάλιν γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ἀδελφοί, προσδοκᾷ με ἐν τάχει. Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοί, καταλαβόμενοι ὅποιός ἦν αἰρέσεως ὁ Μαρκιανός, καὶ ἐαυ-

There is another treatise of his, which he wrote concerning the Gospel entitled, *according to Peter*, with design to confute some false assertions in it, on account of some in the parish of Rossus, who, through the occasion of the said scripture, fell into some erroneous doctrines. It may not be improper to produce some few passages of it, in which he declares what his sentiments were of that book. He writes thus:

“ We, brethren, do receive Peter  
“ and the other apostles even as  
“ Christ; but *the spurious pieces*  
“ *under their names*, as well know-  
“ ing them, *we reject, having good*  
“ *evidence that we have received*  
“ *no such things*. For when I was  
“ among you, I supposed that all  
“ were believers of the true doc-  
“ trine; and so not reading over  
“ the book which they brought  
“ me, under the title of The Gos-  
“ pel of Peter, I said, If this be  
“ the only occasion of your con-  
“ tention, let the book be read.  
“ But now perceiving, by what  
“ I am told, *that they had some*  
“ *secret heresy in their minds*,  
“ (viz. which they had a mind to  
“ support by this book,) I will  
“ speedily make another visit to

<sup>u</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 12.

τῷ ἡναντιοῦτο, μὴ νοῶν ἃ ἐλάλει, ἃ μαθήσεσθε ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν ἐγγράφη. Ἐδυνήθημεν γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, τουτέστι παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν καταρξαμένων αὐτοῦ, οὓς Δοκητὰς καλοῦμεν (τὰ γὰρ πλείονα φρονήματα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας) χρησάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν διελθεῖν, καὶ εὑρεῖν τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τινὰ δὲ προσδισταλμένα, ἃ καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν ὑμῖν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Σεραπίωνος.

“ you. But we, brethren, know “ what the heresy of Marcianus “ is, who is not consistent with “ himself, not understanding “ what he said, as you may perceive by what has been written “ to you. For we prevailed over “ those others, who make use of “ this Gospel, i. e. over those who “ were his [viz. Marcianus’s] “ successors, whom we call Do- “ cetas, (for they have in their “ scheme of doctrine a great variety of sentiments,) and having borrowed [*the said Gospel*] “ of them to peruse, found out “ many things rightly spoken of “ our Saviour, and others as bad, “ which I have subjoined to this “ Epistle.” So far Serapion x.

## 2. By Tertullian y.

Evangelium, quod edidit Marcus, Petri adfirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus.

The Gospel, which Mark published, is affirmed by some to be the Gospel of Peter, whose interpreter Mark was.

## 3. By Origen z.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς Ἰησοῦ φασὶ τινες εἶναι ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον Εὐαγγελίου, ἢ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοὺς Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς συνακηκυίας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας.

There are some who say the brethren of Christ [here mentioned] were the children of Joseph, by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary; and they are induced to this opinion by some passages in that which is entitled, The Gospel of Peter, or the Book of James.

## 4. By Eusebius a.

Τό τε μὲν—κατ' αὐτὸν ὀνομα-

It is evident, that the book en-

x I imagine there is some defect in the Greek of Eusebius, in the latter part of this paragraph, not only because the translators Ruffin, Christopherson, and Valesius prodigiously

disagree, but because it is scarce capable of a just version.

y Lib. 4. adv. Marcion. c. 5.

z Comment. in Matt. xiii. 55.

a Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

σμένον Εὐαγγέλιον——οὐδ' ὅλας  
ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένον,  
ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ'  
ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγρα-  
φεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ συνεχρήσατο  
μαρτυρίαις.

titled, The Gospel of Peter,——  
is not by any means to be es-  
teemed canonical, inasmuch as  
none of the ancients, nor any of  
our ecclesiastical writers, have  
taken testimonies out of it.

By the same<sup>b</sup>.

He places it *among the books forged by the heretics under the apostles' names, not received nor cited by any ecclesiastical writer, but to be rejected as impious and absurd.* See the place at large above, Chap. XXI. N<sup>o</sup>. XXXIII.

5. By Jerome, in the Life of Peter<sup>c</sup>.

Libri autem ejus, e quibus unus  
Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius  
Evangelii —— inter apocryphas  
scripturas reputantur.

But those [other] books [called  
Peter's], among which one is his  
Acts, another his Gospel——are  
reckoned *among the apocryphal  
scriptures.*

6. By the same<sup>d</sup>, in the Life of Serapion.

Alium de Evangelio, quod sub  
Petri nomine fertur, librum com-  
posuit, ad Rhosensem Ciliciæ ec-  
clesiam, quæ in hæresin ex ejus  
lectione diverterat.

He composed also another book,  
concerning *the Gospel which is  
carried about under the name of  
Peter*, inscribed to the church of  
Rossus in Cilicia, who by the  
reading of that book had fallen  
into heresy.

7. By Gelasius, in his Decree, according to some editions.

Evangelia nomine Petri apostoli  
apocrypha.

The Gospels under the name of  
Peter the apostle are apocryphal.

From these passages it is not difficult to come to a deter-  
mination concerning this book; only it seems necessary first  
to observe, that though I have recited here the passage of  
Tertullian, in which the Gospel of Mark appears formerly to  
have been called the Gospel of Peter, yet it is by no means to  
be confounded with, or taken for the same with the apocry-  
phal book now under consideration. I was obliged here to  
mention the passage of Tertullian, because my design obliges  
me to produce every place where there is any such mention;  
but it would be madness hence to infer, that these two books

<sup>b</sup> Id. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>c</sup> Catal. Vir. illustr. in Petro.

<sup>d</sup> Id. in Serap.

were the same, seeing all the writers, who mention this Gospel of Peter, have rejected it as spurious, but every one of them agree in the receiving of St. Mark's Gospel as canonical; which could never have happened, had they been the same book. But not to leave the reader, who is unacquainted with these things, in the dark, as to the *reason of Mark's Gospel being called by the name of Peter*, I observe, that this was occasioned *by the universally prevailing opinion among the first Christians, that St. Mark, being the companion of Peter, wrote the Gospel now extant under his name, from the mouth of Peter, or from what he heard him preach at Rome.* This is attested by Papias, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Jerome, and many others, as I have elsewhere observed, and endeavoured to prove their tradition to be true in this matter, from some internal evidences in the Gospel. See my Vindication of St. Matthew's Gospel, against Mr. Whiston, Chap. VI. From all this it is plain, the Gospel of Peter, now under discussion, was another book than that of St. Mark. By whom it was forged, is not very certain: Dr. Grabe<sup>e</sup>, and after him Dr. Mill<sup>f</sup>, suppose *it to have been made by Leucius*, whom they reckon to have been a heretic of the second century: but in this they seem mistaken, because, as I have above proved, Chap. XXI. Leucius did not live till the latter end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century; whereas this Gospel appears to have been extant in the second century, by the book which Serapion wrote concerning it, who was bishop of Antioch in the eleventh year of the emperor Commodus, i. e. in the year of Christ 190, as is plain from the Chronicon of Eusebius, and Jerome's Account of his Life, above cited. That therefore which seems to me most probable, concerning the original of this book, is, that it was a composure of those ancient heretics, in the second century, called *the Docetæ*, from *δοκεῖν* to appear, because *they believed and taught that the sufferings of Jesus Christ were not real, but only in appearances.* For of these heretics, Serapion says, he borrowed this book, (if I rightly understand Eusebius,) and in it he observed several erroneous notions concerning Christ, which no one can

<sup>e</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. i. p. 58.

<sup>f</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 337.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 465. et lib. 7. p. 765.

reasonably doubt were these of Christ's not real, but apparent sufferings, after reading the passage. Mr. Dodwell, though he interprets the Greek of Eusebius somewhat differently, nevertheless concludes the same from them, viz. that this Gospel was forged by the Docetæ<sup>h</sup>; and if this be true, I would offer it here as a conjecture, *that perhaps the Gospel of Basilides, of which I have above treated, Chap. XI. No. IX. was the very same either in the whole, or in a great measure at least, with this apocryphal Gospel under the name of Peter;* and this I am the rather inclined to believe,

First, Because *these Docetæ were a branch of the Gnosticks;* and of these *Basilides was the head and founder.* *Basilides a quo Gnostici,* says Eusebius in his Chronicon ad Ann. Christi 136; i. e. "from Basilides proceeded the Gnosticks."

Secondly, Because *the Docetæ arose much about the same time that Basilides and his opinions became known in the world.* The Docetæ, as appears from their being mentioned by Serapion, must at least have been formed into a sect before the end of the second century, and very probably before the middle of it; for Serapion disputed against those of this sect, who were (as he calls them) the διαδοχοι, *the successors of Marcianus*, who was one of these Docetæ. Now Serapion living, as has been above proved, in the year 190, and there having been *some successions* of these heretics between Marcianus and Serapion, it necessarily follows, that these heretics must have arose at least before the year 150, i. e. before the middle of this century. Besides, it is commonly supposed from those words of Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>i</sup>, in which he calls Julius Cassianus ἐξάρχων τῆς Δοκῆσεως, *that he was the first founder of these Docetæ;* and if so, it will follow that they were somewhat earlier; for then Marcianus must also have been one of his successors. I conclude, therefore, that these Docetæ arose very early in the second century, and consequently about the undoubted time in which Basilides and his tenets became most famous.

Thirdly, *Because Basilides and his disciples affirmed, that Christ was not really a man in flesh, but only appeared to be so; and accordingly was not really crucified, but, while he*

<sup>h</sup> Dodwell. Dissert. in Iren. IV. §. 36. p. 364. <sup>i</sup> Strom. lib. 3. p. 465.

*seemed to be so, another was crucified in his stead.* This appears by Irenæus and Epiphanius's account of this heretic, in the places cited at the bottom of the page<sup>k</sup>. Now that these were also the principles of the Docetæ, is sufficiently evident; and even from their very name: from which so universal agreement, both in respect of time and tenets, I offer it as probable at least, that the Gospel of Basilides, and the Gospel of Peter, i. e. the Gospel of the Docetæ, *was one and the same book.*

Fourthly, To all this I add, that *Basilides's Gospel seems to have consisted of many tomes, or distinct books*; which probably are those twenty-four mentioned by Agrippa Castor: (see above, Chap. XI. N<sup>o</sup>. IX.) and accordingly in the Decree of pope Gelasius, we find this Gospel under the name of Peter recited in the plural number, *Evangelia nomine apostoli Petri apocrypha*. "The Gospels" (or various books of the Gospel) "under the name of Peter are apocryphal."

Whatever original be ascribed to this book, we have the justest reason to reject it as spurious and apocryphal, by Prop. IV. V. VI. as also, if the foundation of the foregoing conjecture be just, by Prop. VIII. *as containing things certainly known to be false, and contrary to the whole design of Christianity.* Nor need we at all be moved by what Dr. Mill<sup>l</sup> (who is ever too fond of the apocryphal books, as was Dr. Grabe, whom he follows) urges, that this Gospel was publicly read by the Christians; there being no more foundation for this too rash and unguarded assertion, than that Serapion, to prevent an uneasiness and contention in one particular church, told the people, whom he imagined all well established in the faith, that they might read the book; though himself afterwards, when he had perused it, declared against it, as an heretical book. Nor would it be at all more material to object, that Origen, in the passage above, has appealed to this book; for it is plain by the passage,

1. That *Origen himself never saw it*; for he does not himself cite it, only proposes a history which *he had heard some others took out of it*, and knew not himself whether it was in this, or the book of James.

<sup>k</sup> Iren. adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 33. Epiphanius, Hæres. 24.

<sup>l</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 336.



2. He himself did not credit either the book or the tradition taken out of it; hence he uses the word ὀρμώμενοι, to denote the rashness of those who regarded it.

3. He several times declares, he only received the four Gospels, which we now receive. See above, Chap. XXVIII.

Thus I have endeavoured to make the best inquiry I could into this Gospel of Peter, which I shall now leave; only observing, how much too hasty Mr. Whiston was, when he asserted this book "as probably in some sense a sacred book<sup>m</sup>."

## CHAP. XXXII.

*The Judgment of Peter. Dr. Cave's opinion, that it was the same with the Shepherd of Hermas, confuted. Dr. Grabe's ingenious conjecture, that it was the same with the Preaching of Peter, disproved. Dr. Mill's opinion, that it was the same with the Revelation of Peter, refuted.*

N<sup>o</sup>. LI. *The Judgment of Peter.*

OF this book we have not any mention till the latter end of the fourth century, by Jerome and Ruffin.

1. By Jerome<sup>n</sup>, in his Life of Peter.

Libri autem ejus, e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii, inter apocryphas scripturas reputantur.

But those [other] books, called Peter's, among which one is his Acts, another his Gospel, a third his Preaching, a fourth his Revelation, a fifth his Judgment, are reputed among the apocryphal scriptures.

2. By Ruffin<sup>o</sup>, in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. After an enumeration of the canonical books.

Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici, a majoribus appellati sunt, ut est Sapientia Salomonis,—&c. In Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ, vel Judicium Pe-

It must be observed, that there are other books which were not called by our forefathers *canonical*, but *ecclesiastical*; such as the Wisdom of Solomon, &c. in the Old Testament. But in the New Testament, the little book which is called The Shepherd, or Her-

<sup>m</sup> Essay on the Constitutions, p. 24.

<sup>n</sup> Catal. Vir. illustr. in Petro.

<sup>o</sup> Inter Opp. Cypriani. §. 36. p. 575.

tri; quæ legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

mas; that which is called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter, which they would have to be read in the churches, but not to be urged as of any authority in confirming matters of faith.

There being nothing more said of this book, it requires but little pains to prove it apocryphal: it appears manifestly to have been such by Prop. IV. and V; and though "some" would have it read in the churches," as Ruffin says, "yet it" was never judged of canonical authority," as he expressly tells us, but only read as an ecclesiastical book, i. e. as the apocrypha of the Old Testament and the Homilies are appointed to be read in England now; and so may very well be judged apocryphal also by Prop. VI.

Among later writers, I have not met with any thing said of this book, only that our three learned doctors in England (whom I have so often mentioned in the preceding chapters) have formed three several and very distinct judgments concerning this book; neither of which seems to have any great appearance of truth. Dr. Cave<sup>p</sup> understands Ruffin, as *making it the same with the Shepherd of Hermas*. Dr. Grabe<sup>q</sup> supposes it *the same with the Preaching of Peter*, and Dr. Mill<sup>r</sup> *the same with the Revelation of Peter*; from either of which it was certainly a distinct book.

1. As to Dr. Cave's opinion, though I confess it was very easy for any one to fall into it, it plainly appears to have been founded on a too careless reading of Ruffin's words. *Libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ, vel Judicium Petri, quæ legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt*, &c. which according to him must be pointed and translated thus: The little book which is called, *the Shepherd or Hermas, which is called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter*; as though these were only several titles of the same book. But the doctor did not consider, that the *relative particle qui*, where it occurs in the second place, requires the *substantive libellus*, meaning a distinct book, to be before it as well as in

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Liter. in Petro, p. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 136.

<sup>q</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. I. p. 56.

the first place; and that if it did not, either it and the word *appellatur* must be both *quite useless*, or else there must have been an *etiam*, or some such particle inserted: so that instead of translating it, as he would have it, *The book which is called the Shepherd or Hermas, which is called the Two Ways, &c.* which every one must see to be an absurd way of speaking; it is very naturally, and according to plain construction, to be translated thus, *The book which is called the Shepherd or Hermas, that [book] which is called the Two Ways, &c.* Besides, had Ruffin designed to have expressed the three titles of one book, he would have inserted the particle *vel* before *Duæ Viæ* as well as before *Judicium Petri*. To add no more of this, there is another question moved by Pamelius\*, *Whether the words Duæ Viæ may not belong to Judicium Petri, as a different title of that book?* To which I only answer, that the particle *vel* seems to make it more probable it did, (though upon what account it was so entitled, is not possible for us now to guess,) than, as Mr. Fabritius supposes, that it was *a distinct title of a different book from either*; viz. either the *seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions*, or the *last part of the Epistle of Barnabas*; into one of which this book of the *Two Ways* was taken.

2. Dr. Grabe's conjecture concerning the Judgment of Peter is much more plausible than the former, viz. *That it was the same with the Preaching of Peter*. What he offers seems so ingenious, that I shall give it the reader as exactly as I can. "As to the Judgment of Peter," says he, "mentioned by Ruffin and Jerome, I doubt Ruffin meeting in some Greek books with the word  $\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha$  contractedly written for  $\chi\eta\pi\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ , thought it was designed for  $\kappa\pi\iota\mu\alpha$ , and so translated it in Latin *judicium*; and Jerome following Ruffin, without due consideration looked upon it as a distinct book from the Preaching of Peter, when it was really the same<sup>t</sup>." This seems very plausible; but I have to oppose to it, that it is very improbable Ruffin should be guilty of such a mistake, or, if he was, that Jerome should follow him in it.

First, *It is highly improbable Ruffin should be guilty of*

\* Annot. in Ruffin. Exposit. Symbol. Apostol. in loc.

<sup>t</sup> Loc. jam cit.

*such a mistake*; for besides that he was so much acquainted with the ancient books, as appears by the many writings of his own, which are now extant, and the many Latin translations which he made of others, (viz. Josephus, Eusebius, Origen, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, &c.) the Preaching of Peter was a book mentioned by several writers, and particularly by Eusebius<sup>u</sup>, whom he translated into Latin, and whose history he continued to his time; and therefore it is not likely he should mistake any other name for this, especially when it was a name that he had never known nor heard before. Besides, it seems to me very improbable, that he should thus read  $\kappa\rho\iota\mu\alpha$  for  $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\mu\alpha$ , because although  $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\mu\alpha$  sometimes should be so contractedly written, as Dr. Grabe supposes, viz.  $\overline{\kappa\rho\mu\alpha}$ , Ruffin could never imagine any scribe would make that contraction to stand for the word  $\kappa\rho\iota\mu\alpha$ , and that for this plain reason, that he would be as long in writing the contraction  $\overline{\kappa\rho\mu\alpha}$  with the line on top, or longer, than in writing the word at length  $\kappa\rho\iota\mu\alpha$ .

Secondly, If we suppose Ruffin to have made this mistake, *it is no way probable that Jerome should follow him in it*; for Jerome did not write his *Catalogus Virorum illustrium* till about the year 392, or afterwards; before which time there were such fierce contentions between him and Ruffin, that make it very unlikely he should transcribe the blunders of his books. But to say no more, in the very nature of the thing it can scarce be imagined that Jerome should thus follow Ruffin; and therefore, seeing Ruffin and Jerome both speak of a book called the Judgment of Peter, and Jerome speaks of the Judgment and Preaching of Peter so very distinctly as in the place above, calling one the *third*, the other the *fifth* under Peter's name, I conclude this Judgment to have been really a distinct book.

Thirdly, Dr. Mill has a conjecture much less probable than the former, concerning this Judgment of Peter, viz. that it *was the very same with the Revelation of Peter* (of which hereafter, N°. LIH.) and as it was first called Apocalypsis by the Greeks, afterwards being by the Latins translated, was called by them, *Judicium*, or *Judgment*, because it treated of the Judgment of God denounced against, and shortly to be inflicted upon, the Jews. But against this I urge,

<sup>u</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

1. That it does not appear, that the Revelation was written on this subject.

2. If it really was, the title, *Judicium Petri*, would not have been given to it by any one who understood the Latin tongue; for though the word *judgment* be used in this sense in our language, viz. for the same idea as *vengeance from God*, yet in this ancient time the word *judicium* was seldom or never used in this sense. Besides, if it had, the book must have been entitled, *Judicia Dei*, and not *Judicium Petri*, viz. the Judgments of God, not the Judgment of Peter. But of this enough.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*The Preaching of Peter and Paul. An ancient Epistle under the name of Peter to James, relating to it, produced at length in Greek and English. Several large fragments and testimonies of the ancients concerning it.*

Nº. LII. *The Preaching of Peter and Paul: or, the Doctrine of Peter.*

THE reason of these different titles has in part been already assigned above, where I have proved that the Preaching of Paul and Peter were the titles of *one and the same book* \*. As for the title here given it, viz. the Doctrine of Peter, it will so clearly appear to belong to it in the sequel of this dissertation, that I shall say no more concerning it here.

This book is not only a very ancient one, but has been of very considerable repute, generally supposed to have been cited by some of the oldest fathers, as Heracleon, Clemens, Theodotus, &c. and therefore requires much care in the discussing it: and indeed of all the apocrypha of the New Testament, there is none, the consideration of which is attended with greater difficulties than this, except the Gospel of the Egyptians and the Nazarenes. The writers who have mentioned it are as follow; viz.

I. The author of the Epistle under the name of *Peter to James*.

This, though unquestionably a forgery, yet seems to be a *very early one of some Ebionite*; and because the Epistle itself

\* See above, Chap. XXX. Nº. XLV.

does wholly relate to this book of the Preaching of Peter, and has been supposed by some to have been a preface to it<sup>1</sup>, I shall think it not improper to insert it all, with an English translation, here; though, were it not for this reason, it ought more properly to have been deferred to the third part of this work. Wherefore I shall not here enter into large critical inquiries concerning it, only make such few remarks as shall be necessary to the forming a better judgment concerning the apocryphal book we have now under consideration, viz. the Preaching of Peter.

Ἐπιστολὴ Πέτρου πρὸς Ἰάκωβον.

*The Epistle of Peter to James.*

Πέτρος Ἰακώβω, τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ  
ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας,  
ὕπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Πατρὸς, διὰ  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάν-  
τοτε.

*Peter to James, lord and bishop  
of the holy church, [wishing]  
perpetual happiness from the  
Father of all things, through  
Jesus Christ.*

1. Εἰδὼς σε, ἀδελφέ μου, εἰς τὸ  
κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συμφέρον σπεύ-  
δοντα προθύμως, ἀξιῶ καὶ θέομαι,  
τῶν ἡμῶν κηρυγμάτων ὥς ἐπεμψά-  
σοι βίβλους, μηδενὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἐθνῶν μεταδοῦναι, μήτε ὁμοφύλῳ,  
πρὸ πείρας· ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δοκιμα-  
σθεὶς ἅγιος εὐρεθῇ, τότε αὐτῷ κατὰ  
τὴν ἀγωγὴν παραδοῦναι, καθ' ἣν  
καὶ τοῖς ἐβδόμηκοντα ὁ Μωϋσῆς  
παρέδωκε, τοῖς τὴν καθέδραν αὐτοῦ  
παρειληφόσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ  
καρπὸς τῆς ἀσφαλείας μέχρι τοῦ  
δεῦρο φαίνεται. Τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ  
πανταχῇ ὁμοεθνοὶ τῆς μοναρχίας  
καὶ πολιτείας φυλάσσουσι κανόνα·  
κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως φρονεῖν,  
ὕπὸ τῶν πολλὰ νεουσῶν γραφῶν  
ἐξοδευθῆναι δυνηθέντες. Κατὰ γὰρ  
τὸν παραδοθέντα αὐτοῖς κανόνα, τὰ

1. Forasmuch, my brother, as I  
am persuaded you are always  
very ready to forward any thing  
that is conducive to our common  
interest, I earnestly entreat and  
desire, that you would not deliver  
the books of my Preaching, which  
I have sent you, to any one of  
the Gentiles, nor even to any one  
of our country, (a Jew,) before  
you are well acquainted with  
him; but if, after trial, he be  
found worthy, then let them be  
delivered to him after the same  
manner as Moses delivered [his  
doctrine] to the seventy men, who  
were his successors. For such  
cautious methods have been hi-  
therto successful. And the peo-  
ple of that nation, (viz. the Jews,)  
wheresoever they be, observe the

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Dodwell's learned Disser-  
tations on Irenæus. Diss. VI. §. 10. p.

441. The Epistle was first published  
by Cotelierius.

τῶν γραφῶν ἀσύμφωνα πειρῶνται μεταρρυθμίζειν, εἰ δὲ τις τυχὸν μὴ εἰδὼς τὰς παραδόσεις, ναρκᾷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Προφητῶν πολυσήμους φωνάς· οὐ ἔνεκεν οὐδενὶ διδάσκειν ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον μάθῃ, πῶς δεῖ ταῖς γραφαῖς χρῆσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεός, εἰς νόμος, μία ἐλπὶς.

same rule of monarchy<sup>2</sup> and conduct; nor have by any means been induced by *those scriptures* (which contain various things) to entertain other sentiments, or turn aside. For according to the rules delivered to them, they endeavour to regulate the disagreements of *the scriptures*; but if any one happen to be ignorant of the traditions, he is to say nothing of the oracles of the prophets, which have various significations. Wherefore they permit no one to teach, unless he have before learned how the scriptures ought to be handled. So that among them there is one God, one law, and one hope.

II. Ἴνα γοῦν τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γένηται τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῖς, τὰς βίβλους μου τῶν κηρυγμάτων δὸς μετὰ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῆς ἀγωγῆς μυστηρίου, καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀναδέξασθαι μέρος, ἐφοδιάζωσιν. Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν μὴ οὕτως γένηται, εἰς πολλὰς γνώμας ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμῶν διαιρεθήσεται λόγος. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὥς ὁ προφήτης ὦν ἐπίσταμαι· ἀλλ' ἦδη αὐτοῦ τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄρων. Τινὲς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν, τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον ἀπεδοκίμασαν κήρυγμα, τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι μου περιόντος ἐπεχείρησάν τινες, ποικίλαις τισὶν ἑρμηνείαις τοὺς ἐμοὺς

II. In order therefore that the like may be among us as the *seventy men*, and our brethren, deliver *the books of my Preaching* with the same artifice of secrecy, that they may serve to instruct those who have a mind to undertake the office of teachers: otherwise my true doctrines will be divided into many different opinions. But this I do not pretend to foreknow as a prophet, but as already seeing the beginnings of this mischief. For some of the Gentiles have [already] rejected *my Preaching*, which is according to the law, adhering to the *trifling doctrines of a person who is an enemy, and such doctrines as are against the law*. And these things some have attempted, even

\* Cotelierius translates it *Eandem normam de unitate Dei et vitæ institutione.*

λόγους μετασχηματίζειν, εἰς πῶν τοῦ νόμου κατάλυσιν· ὡς καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ οὕτω μὲν φρονοῦντος, μὴ ἐκ παρῆρησίας δὲ κηρύσσοντος· ὅπερ ἀπίη. Τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτο, ἀντιπράσσειν ἐστὶ τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμῳ, τῷ διὰ Μωϋσείως ρηθέντι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μαρτυρηθέντι, περὶ τῆς αἰδίου αὐτοῦ διαμονῆς. Ἐπεὶ οὕτως εἶπεν, Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου. Τοῦτο δὲ εἶρηκεν, ἵνα τὰ πάντα γίνηται. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, οὓς ἤκουσαν ἐξ ἐμοῦ λόγους, ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτοὺς, φρονιμώτερον ἐπιχειροῦσιν, λέγοντες τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατηχουμένοις, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἐμὸν φρόνημα, ὃ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν ἐνεθυμήθην. Εἰ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἔτι περίοντος τοιαῦτα τολμᾶσιν καταψεύδεσθαι, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, οἱ μετ' ἐμὲ τολμήσουσιν;

III. Ἵνα οὖν μὴ τοιοῦτόν τι γένηται, τούτου ἕνεκα ἤξιῶσα καὶ ἐδεήθην, τῶν ἐμῶν κηρυγμάτων ἃς ἔπεμψά σοι βίβλους, μηδενὶ παραδοῦναι, μήτε ὁμοφύλῳ, μήτε ἄλλοφύλῳ, πρὸ πείρας· ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δοκιμασθεὶς ἀξίος εὐρεθῇ, τότε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Μωϋσείως ἀγωγὴν παραδοῦναι, καθ' ἣν τοῖς ἐβδόμη-

while I am alive, perverting the intent of my words by various interpretations, to [support the doctrine of] the abrogation of the law, as though I myself had been of that opinion, but had not courage enough plainly to declare it; which God forbid. But to do that would be to act contrary to the law of God, which was given by Moses, and received a testimony of its everlasting obligation by our Lord himself, when he said, *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but one jot, or one tittle, shall by no means pass from the law*<sup>a</sup>. This he said, that all things might be accomplished. But on the other hand they, engaging, by I know not what means, to declare my meaning, pretend [to explain] my words more wisely than I who spake them, telling their catechumens, that is my meaning, of which I never so much as thought. But if while I am alive they be so impudent in lying, how much more will they venture to do the same after my death?

III. That therefore none of these things may happen, I have earnestly desired and entreated you (*in the beginning of my letter*) not to deliver the books of my *Preaching*, which I have sent you, either to any one of our own country [a Jew] or Gentile, till you have first proved him; (or are acquainted with him;) and then,

<sup>a</sup> Matth. v. 18.



κοντα παρέδωκεν, τοῖς τὴν καθέδραν αὐτοῦ παρεληφόσιν. Ἵνα οὕτως τὰς πίστεις φυλάξωσιν, καὶ πανταχῇ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας κανόνα παραδῶσιν· ἐρμηνεύοντες τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν παράδοσιν ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀμαθείας κατασπώμενοι, ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν στοχασμῶν εἰς πλάνην ἐλκόμενοι, ἄλλους εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς ἀπωλείας ἐνέγκωσιν βόθρουν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμοὶ δόξαντα καλῶς ἐσήμανά σοι· τὸ δὲ σοι δοκοῦν, κύριέ μου, πρεπόντως ἐπιτέλει. Ἑρῶσω.

if after trial he be found worthy, to deliver them to him after the same manner as Moses delivered his doctrine to the *seventy men* who were his successors; that so they may keep the faith, and every where deliver the rule of truth, interpreting all things according to our tradition; and lest, being themselves perverted through ignorance, or drawn aside by the conjectures of the mind into errors, they should be the means of leading others into the same pit of destruction. And thus I have honestly given you my sentiments; but you, O my lord, do whatsoever you shall think most convenient. Farewell.

## 2. By Heracleon.

He was an early heretic of the second century, and lived (as I shall shew hereafter) about the year of Christ 130. That he made use of this book, we are informed by Origen in the following words (tom. 14. in Joan. p. 211.)

Φέρειν αὐτὸν, ὡς Πέτρου διδάξαντος, μὴ δεῖν καθ' Ἑλλήνας προσκυνεῖν τὰ τῆς ὕλης πράγματα, ἀποδεχομένους καὶ λατρεύοντας ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, μήτε κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σίβειν τὸ θεῖον· ἐπείπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ μόνοι οἰόμενοι ἐπίστασθαι Θεόν, ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτὸν, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις, καὶ μηνί, καὶ σελήνῃ.

He (viz. Heracleon) urged that Peter taught, that *we ought not to worship as the Gentiles, paying respect to material things, and adoring wood and stones; nor as the Jews worshipped the Deity; for they, pretending to be the only persons who know God, are ignorant of him, seeing they worship angels, and months, and the moon.*

That this passage was in the Preaching of Peter, is evident from that of Clemens Alexandrinus in this chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. III.

## 3. By Clemens Alexandrinus.

He so often cites this book, that I shall have frequent occasion to refer to his citations; and therefore, for the ease of the reader, shall number them distinctly.

## I. Strom. lib. 1. p. 357.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πέτρου κηρύγματι ὁ-  
ροις ἂν νόμον καὶ λόγον τὸν Κύριον  
προσαγορευόμενον.

In the Preaching of Peter, you  
may find the Lord called *the Law*  
and *the Word*.

## II. Strom. lib. 2. p. 390.

Ἄλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου τὸ  
θέλημα αὐτοῦ. Ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῷ  
κηρύγματι νόμον καὶ λόγον τὸν  
Κύριον προσεῖπεν.

But the will of the Lord is in his  
law. Peter in his Preaching calls  
the Lord [both] *the Law and the*  
*Word*.

## III. Strom. lib. 6. p. 635.

Ὅτι δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἴσασιν  
τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίφασιν,  
Ἑλλήνων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, Πέτρος  
ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι λέγει· Γινώσκετε  
οὖν ὅτι εἷς Θεός ἐστιν, ὃς ἀρχὴν  
πάντων ἐποίησεν, καὶ τέλους ἐξου-  
σίαν ἔχων, καὶ ὁ ἀόρατος, ὃς τὰ  
πάντα ὁρᾷ· ἀχώρητος, ὃς τὰ πάντα  
χωρεῖ, ἀνεπίδεῃς, οὗ τὰ πάντα  
ἐπιδέεται, καὶ δι' ὃν ἐστιν ἀκατά-  
ληπτος, ἀέναιος, ἀφθαρτος, ἀποίητος,  
ὃς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν λόγῳ δυνά-  
μει αὐτοῦ, τῆς γνωστικῆς γραφῆς,  
τούτεστι τοῦ υἱοῦ. Τοῦτον τὸν  
Θεὸν σέβετε, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλ-  
ληνας, ὡς δηλονότι τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν  
σεβόντων Θεὸν, καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλ-  
λησι δοκίμων, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπί-  
γνωσιν παντελῆ τὴν δι' υἱοῦ παρὰ-  
δοσιν μεμαθηκότων. Μὴ τοίνυν,  
φησὶ, σέβετε, οὐκ εἶπεν, Θεὸν ὃν  
οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας, τὸν τρόπον τὸν τῆς σε-  
βήσεως ἐναλάττων τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐχὶ  
δὲ ἄλλον κατάγγελλον· τί οὖν  
ἐστὶ τὸ, Μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας,  
αὐτὸς διασαφήσει Πέτρος ἐπιφέ-  
ρων, Ὅτι ἀγνοοῖα φερόμενοι καὶ μὴ

But that the most excellent pers-  
ons among the Gentiles had not  
[any true] knowledge of God, but  
only such as was very general,  
Peter informs us in his Preaching,  
[saying,] "Know that there is  
"but one God, who gave all  
"things their original existence,  
"and has power over their end ;  
"who is invisible, and sees all  
"things ; incomprehensible, but  
"comprehends all ; not wanting  
"any thing, but whom all things  
"want, and on whom all things  
"depend ; infinite, eternal, im-  
"mortal, unmade, who made all  
"things by the Word of his  
"power, the knowing Word  
"(scripture,) i. e. his Son. This  
"God worship, not as the Gen-  
"tiles do ; even those who were  
"the most understanding among  
"the Gentiles, who worship the  
"same God as we do, but not  
"with a perfect knowledge, as  
"having received instruction from  
"his Son." *He does not say, Do*  
*not worship the same God whom*  
*the Gentiles do, but after the same*  
*manner which the Gentiles do,*

ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς ἡμεῖς, κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τελείαν, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας εἰς χρῆσιν, μορφώσαντες ξύλα καὶ λίθους, χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τῆς ὕλης αὐτῶν καὶ χρήσεως, τὰ δοῦλα τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀναστήσαντες σέβονται· καὶ ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς εἰς βρώσιν ὁ Θεὸς, πετεινὰ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ νηκτὰ, καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔρπετα, καὶ τὰ θηρία σὺν κτήνεσι τετραπόδοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ, γαλαῖς τε καὶ μῦς, αἰλούρους τε καὶ κύνας, καὶ πιθήκους, καὶ τὰ ἴδια βρώματα, βροτοῖς θύματα θύουσιν, καὶ νεκρὰ νεκροῖς προσφέροντες ὡς θεοῖς, ἀχαριστοῦσι τῷ Θεῷ, διὰ τούτων ἀγνοοῦμενοι αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ὅτι γε αἰὶς τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐγνωκῶτων φέρεται, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἐποίσει πάλιν ὡδέπως, Μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον οἰόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκουσιν, οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνῃ φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν, οὔτε ἄζυμα, οὔτε ἐορτὴν, οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν. Εἶτα τὸν κολοφῶνα τοῦ ζητουμένου προσεπιφέρει· ὥστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁσίων καὶ δικαίως

*changing the manner of worshipping God, but not declaring any other God [to be worshipped.] But what this means, Do not worship as the Greeks, Peter himself will explain in what he subjoins, viz. " Being carried away in their " ignorance, and not knowing " God as we know him, with that " perfect knowledge, which he " gave them the power of using, " but changing wood and stones, " brass and iron, gold and " silver, from being mere matter, " which was all they were designed for, they have so far ex- " alted these the servants of life, " as to worship them. Also those " things which God gave them " for food, the birds of the air, " and the fish of the sea, and the " insects of the earth, and the " beasts and four-footed cattle of " the field, and weasels, and " mice, and cats and dogs, and " monkeys, and the food of men, " they offer up in sacrifices to " men, and so by these oblations " of dead things to those who are " dead, as unto gods, they are " unthankful to the [true] God, " by this means denying him." And that it is thus, viz. that the Gentiles have acknowledged the same God with us, though not in*

*the same manner, he further shews thus, [saying] " Neither worship as " the Jews do ; for they, pretending to be the only persons who know " God, are ignorant of him, worshipping angels and archangels, and " the month and the moon ; and unless the moon appear, they do not " keep that sabbath, which is called the first, neither do they (for the " same reason) keep their new moon, nor the feast of unleavened*

μαθάνοντες, ἀ παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, φυλάσσετε, καινῶς τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεβόμενοι· εὐρομεν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, καθὼς ὁ Κύριος λέγει, Ἰδοὺ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καινὴν διαθήκην, οὐχ ὡς διεθήμεν τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐν ὄρει Χωρήβ.

"bread, nor their feast [of the passover], nor their great day." Then he concludes the debate thus: "Wherefore do ye, religiously and faithfully learning what I have delivered to you, observe it, worshipping God in this new way through Christ. For we have found it in the scriptures, that the Lord has thus said, Behold, a new covenant I make with you, not such as I made with your fathers in Horeb."

#### IV. Strom. lib. 6. p. 636.

Ἐπεὶ ὅτι καθάπερ Ἰουδαίους σώζεσθαι ἐβούλετο ὁ Θεὸς, τοὺς προφῆτας διδούς, οὕτως καὶ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους οἰκείους αὐτῶν τῇ διαλέκτῳ προφῆτας ἀναστήσας, ὡς οἳοί τε ἦσαν δέχεσθαι τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ εὐεργεσίαν, τῶν χυδαίων ἀνθρώπων διέκρινεν· δηλώσει πρὸς τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγων Παῦλος, Λάβετε καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς βίβλους, ἐπίγνωτε Σίβυλλαν, ὡς δηλοῖ ἕνα Θεὸν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι· καὶ τὸν Ὑστάσπην λαβόντες ἀνάγνωτε, καὶ εὐρήσετε πολλῶν τηλαυγέστερον

Inasmuch therefore as God determined the salvation of the Jews, and for that reason gave them prophets, so also having raised up some of the most excellent of the Gentiles to be prophets to them in their own languages, as they were capable of receiving the kindness of God; that he distinguished them from the bulk of mankind; besides the Preaching of Peter<sup>b</sup>, Paul the apostle will make manifest in what he says, "Take also the Greek books, acknowledge the Sibylline oracles, [and see] how they declare one

<sup>b</sup> Cotelierius supposes, that Paul is here cited by Clemens on account of his calling Epimenides a Greek poet in his Epistle to Titus, i. 12. and consequently that the following words are the words of Clemens, and not of this apocryphal book. But in this he must needs be mistaken, because Clemens adds the word *λίγων*, which introduces the next sentence, and evidences that it is a citation; besides, a little after Clemens brings in some person asking a question; *πυνθάνεται ἡμῶν*, he asks us; this cannot possibly mean himself, but some third person, who can be no other

than Paul, whom he had just before cited. And inasmuch as immediately both before this citation of Paul, and after it, we have citations out of the Preaching of Peter; and this has been above proved out of Lactantius to be the same with the Preaching of Paul; I suppose this obscure expression of Clemens will be best explained, by supposing that some part of this book contained the *Preachings of Peter, and others, the Preaching of Paul*; and so both were for this reason cited thus together. See Grab. Spicil. Patr. t. i. p. 66.

καὶ σαφέστερον γεγραμμένον τὸν  
 υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ καθὼς παράταξιν  
 ποιήσουσι τῷ Χριστῷ πολλοὶ βα-  
 σιλεῖς, μισοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς  
 φοροῦντας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς  
 πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν  
 καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ· εἶτα ἐνὶ  
 λόγῳ πυνθάνεται ἡμῶν, "Ὁλος δὲ ὁ  
 κόσμος, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τίνος,  
 οὐχὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ; διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ὁ  
 Πέτρος εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς  
 ἀποστόλοις, "Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θε-  
 λῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι διὰ  
 τοῦ ὀνόματός μου καὶ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ  
 ἁμαρτίαι· Μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλ-  
 θετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ,  
 οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν.—

"shall be pardoned. After twelve years, go ye out into the world,  
 "that no man may say, We have not heard."

V. Strom. lib. 6. p. 639.

Αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ὁ  
 Κύριός φησι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς  
 μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, "Ἐξελεξάμην  
 ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητάς, κρίνας ἀξι-  
 ούς ἐμοῦ.

"God, and [predict] things fu-  
 "ture. Take also and read Hy-  
 "staspes, and you will there find  
 "the Son of God more clearly  
 "and evidently described, and  
 "that many kings would en-  
 "deavour to make head against  
 "Christ, hating him, and those  
 "who were called by his name,  
 "and his faithful followers; and  
 "also his sufferings and [second]  
 "coming." Then in one word he  
 asks us, "Whose is the world,  
 "and all that is in it? Is it not  
 "God's?" Wherefore Peter saith,  
 "That the Lord said to the apo-  
 "stles, If therefore any man of  
 "Israel will repent, and through  
 "my name believe on God, his sins

But in the Preaching of Peter,  
 the Lord said to his disciples after  
 the resurrection, *I have chosen*  
*you twelve* disciples, *having judg-*  
*ed you worthy.*

VI. Strom. lib. 6. p. 678.

Καὶ οἱ τούτου γνώριμοι, οἱ κηρύ-  
 ξαντες τὸν λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸς, μετ'  
 αὐτὸν τὸ ζῆν παρεβάλλοντο. "Ὅθεν  
 καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι  
 περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγων, φησὶν,  
 "Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναπτύξαντες τὰς βί-  
 βλους ἃς εἶχομεν τῶν προφητῶν,  
 ἃ μὲν διὰ παραβολῶν, ἃ δὲ δι' αἰ-  
 νιγμάτων, ἃ δὲ αὐθεντικῶς καὶ  
 αὐτολεξεῖ τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὀνο-  
 μαζόντων· εὗρομεν καὶ τὴν παρου-  
 σίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ

And the companions of Christ  
 who preached the word, as he  
 did, after his death, made use of  
 parables. Whence Peter in his  
 Preaching, *speaking of the apo-*  
*stles*, saith, "But when we per-  
 "used the books which we have  
 "of the prophets, in which some  
 "things are delivered in parables,  
 "some things in enigmatical de-  
 "scriptions, some things positive,  
 "and even the name of Jesus

-τὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ τὰς λουαὶς κολάσεις πάσας, ὅσας ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν, πρὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτισθῆναι, καθὼς ἐγγραπτό· ταῦτα πάντα ἃ ἴδρι αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔσται. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐπιγόνοντες, ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα ἐπιφέρει πάλιν, θεία προνοία τὰς προφητείας γεγενῆσθαι, παριστάς ἃδε· ἔγνωμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὄντως, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν.

*little after he again infers, that the prophecies were written by God's appointment, saying thus, "For we know that God really appointed " these things, and without the scripture we say nothing."*

#### 4. By Theodotus Byzantius<sup>c</sup>.

He was an early writer in the second century; of whom and whose works I shall give some account in the next number, viz. concerning the Revelation of Peter.

Ὁ νόμος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄμωμος, ἐπιστρέφων ψυχάς· νόμος καὶ λόγος αὐτός ὁ Σωτὴρ λέγεται, ὡς Πέτρος ἐν κηρύγματι.

*The Law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; even our Saviour himself is called the Law and the Word, as Peter says in his Preaching.*

#### 5. By Origen<sup>d</sup>.

I thought it proper to cite Origen here, though the place I refer to be the same with that above produced in this Chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. II. concerning Heracleon; only I have here to add, that after Origen had mentioned Heracleon's urging this Preaching of Peter, he subjoins a promise in another place to discuss πότερον ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστιν, ἢ νόθον, ἢ μίχτον, "whether it be esteemed " as a genuine, spurious, or mixt piece." But this it does not appear he any where has done.

<sup>c</sup> In Eclog. sen Excerpt. ad Calc. Opp. Clem. Alex. p. 809.

<sup>d</sup> Tom. 14. in Joan. p. 211.

6. By the same<sup>c</sup>.

That which he calls in this passage the Doctrine of Peter, is undoubtedly the same with the Preaching; as will appear in the following part of this discourse. His words are;

Si vero quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello qui Petri Doctrina appellatur, ubi Salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere, Non sit dæmonium incorporeum; primo respondendum est ei, quod ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur, et ostendendum, quod neque Petri est ea scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam qui Spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus.

But if any one urge against us testimonies out of that little book which is called, The Doctrine of Peter, wherein our Saviour seems to say to his disciples, *That he was not an incorporeal spirit*, I would answer to him first, That that book is not to be reckoned among the ecclesiastical books, and make it appear, that it is *neither the writing of Peter*, nor of any other person who was inspired by the Spirit of God.

7. By the anonymous author of a book, concerning rebaptization in Cyprian's time<sup>f</sup>.

Est autem adulterini hujus, imo internecini baptismatis, si quis alius auctor, tum etiam quidam ab iisdem ipsis hæreticis propter hunc eundem errorem confictus liber, qui inscribitur Pauli (Petri) Prædicatio. In quo libro contra omnes scripturas, et de peccato proprio contentem invenies Christum, qui solus omnino nihil deliquit, et ad accipiendum Johannis baptismata pene invitum, a matre sua Maria esse compulsam: Item cum baptisaretur, ignem super aquam esse visum: (quod in Evangelio nullo est scriptum) et post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem, et mutuam altercationem et rerum agendarum

But the principal foundation of this false and pernicious baptism is a book *forged by these same heretics, to support this error*, which is called The Preaching of Paul (or Peter.) In which book, contrary to all the scriptures, you will find *Christ (who alone was clear of all sin) both confessing his own sin, and being almost unwilling to receive the baptism of John, was compelled to it by his mother Mary.* Also, that when he was baptized, *fire was seen upon the river* (which is not written in any one of the Gospels;) and after some considerable time, that Peter and Paul (though they had before had a conference concerning the doctrine of the gos-

<sup>c</sup> Præfat. in lib. 1. de Princip. fol. 112.

<sup>f</sup> Edit. a Rigalt. ad fin. Opp. Cypri.

dispositionem, postremo in urbe, quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos. Et quædam alia hujuscemodi, absurde ac turpiter conficta. Quæ omnia in librum illum invenies congesta.

pel at Jerusalem, and some dispute) did afterwards meet in the city, utterly unknown to each other before. And some other things of this sort foolishly and basely forged. All which you will find heaped together in that book.

#### 8. By Lactantius, lib. 4. c. 21.

Magister aperuit illis omnia, quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt; et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit: in qua cum multa alia mira, tum etiam hoc futurum esse dixerunt; ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos, et civitates eorum solo adæquaret, ipsos autem fame sitique confectos obsideret. Tum fore, ut corporibus suorum vescerentur, et consumerent se invicem; postremo ut capti venirent in manus hostium, et in conspectu suo vexari acerbissime conjuges suas cernerent, violari ac prostitui virgines, diripi pueros, allidi parvulos, omnia denique igne ferroque vastari, captivos in perpetuum terris suis exterminari, eo quod exultaverint super amantissimum et probatissimum Dei Filium.

The Master (Christ) explained all things to them, which Peter and Paul did preach at Rome; and that preaching being committed to writing, that it might not be forgot, continues [until now]. In which, with many other strange things, they also have predicted the following things, viz. That after a short time God would send a king, who should wage war against the Jews, and destroy their city to the ground, and besiege them, till they were worn out with hunger and thirst; then it should come to pass, that they should feed upon their own bodies, and destroy one another, and at last become captives in the hands of their enemies; and that they should see the great distress of their wives, their young women prostituted and debauched, their children torn in

pieces, and their little ones dashed in pieces; in a word, all things destroyed by fire and sword, and themselves for ever banished from their own country, because they despised the most loving and excellent Son of God.

#### 9. By Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 3.

Τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα — οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένον, ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων, μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησια-

But that which is called The Preaching of Peter is not by any means to be esteemed canonical, inasmuch as none of the ancients,



στιχὸς συγγαμῶς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίας.

nor any of our ecclesiastical  
 writers have taken testimonies  
 out of it.

10. By Jerome, Catal. Vir. illustr. in Petro.

Libri autem ejus, e quibus unus  
 Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius  
 Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis  
 —inter apocryphas scripturas re-  
 putantur.

But those [other] books called  
 his, among which one is his Acts,  
 another his Gospel, a third his  
 Preaching—are reckoned among  
 apocryphal scriptures.

CHAP. XXXIV.

*The sentiments of later writers concerning the Preaching of Peter. It has been generally very highly esteemed, but upon very weak reasons. The Doctrine of Peter the same as the Preaching of Peter. It was apocryphal, being never cited with any authority. An account of Heracleon and Theodotus, two ancient heretics, and their principles. It contained several things false; as that Christ was a sinner, and that the law of Moses was of everlasting obligation, &c. A conjecture concerning the Epistle of Peter to James. The Preaching of Peter apocryphal, because it makes Peter and Paul appeal to the Sibylline Oracles for the confirmation of Christianity. An account of the Sibyls' Prophecies. They were in a great measure the forgeries of Christians. Paul and Peter did not cite them.*

NOTHING is more commonly the occasion of the mistakes, into which learned men have fallen, than a secret resolution to make all things, if possible, agreeable to their former preconceived opinions. This appears very evidently, the case, in respect of the false notions many have entertained concerning this apocryphal Preaching of Peter and Paul. It had been a settled opinion that Clemens Alexandrinus cited and highly valued it. On this account a favourable opinion was entertained by many of the book; and by this means later writers stifling, or at least not regarding the obvious evidence that is to be brought against it, have extolled it in a very unjust and unreasonable manner, as I hope plainly to shew; and in order thereto shall first produce their several opinions.

1. Sixtus Senensis<sup>ε</sup> discoursing concerning the Sibyls, tells us, that the *apostle Paul exhorts his disciples to the reading of the Sibylline Oracles, referring to the place above-cited of Clemens, in the last Chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. IV. whereby though he calls it *recondita Scriptura*, it is plain he meant the book now under consideration, and believed it to be the very writing of St. Paul; and a little after adds, "And so I, according to the advice of Paul, shall write some things concerning the Sibyls." In another place<sup>h</sup>, "It was of authority among the ancients, because Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen have cited it."*

2. Cardinal Baronius<sup>i</sup> endeavours to support the credit of this book attributed to Paul, wherein he is made to refer to the Sibyls (see Chap. preced. N<sup>o</sup>. III.) because St. Paul *has in some other parts of his writings, now received, taken citations out of the Greek poets.*

3. Dr. Cave<sup>k</sup>, though he looked upon it as spurious, yet supposes both *it and the other apocryphal pieces under the name of Peter to have been written either in the apostolic age, or that which was next to it.*

4. Dr. Grabe<sup>l</sup> saith, "All the fragments of it are perfectly orthodox, and the authors of it catholic Christians, because Clemens Alexandrinus, and after him other orthodox fathers, have frequently cited it;—that it was written soon after the death of Peter by some of that apostle's disciples, who wrote down what they had heard him preach, to communicate it to posterity"—And in another place<sup>m</sup>, by the same weak argument as Baronius, says, "He knows not any reason why some disciple of the apostles, who heard the Preaching of Peter and Paul, might not ascribe those citations out of the Sibylline Oracles to St. Paul, seeing he cites Aratus, Acts xvii. 28.—Why then might not the author of this Preaching rightly say, that St. Paul made use of the Sibyls, and other such sort of prophecies?"

5. Mr. Toland<sup>n</sup>. *The Seven Books, viz. the Epistle to the*

<sup>ε</sup> Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 113. ad voc. Sibyl.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. lib. 2. p. 91. ad voc. Petrus.

<sup>i</sup> Appar. ad Annal. apud Casaub. Exercit. I. N<sup>o</sup>. XVIII. cont. Baron.

<sup>k</sup> Histor. Literar. in Petro, p. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Spicileg. Patr. Sæcul. 1. p. 61, 62.

<sup>m</sup> P. 66.

<sup>n</sup> Amyntor, p. 56, 57.

*Hebrews, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation, were a long time doubted by the ancients, particularly by those whom we esteem the soundest part; and yet they are received not without convincing arguments by the moderns: now I say by more than a parity of reason, that the Preaching of Peter and his Revelation (for example) were received by the ancients, and ought not therefore to be rejected by the moderns, if the approbation of the fathers be a proper recommendation of any books.*

6. Dr. Mill<sup>o</sup> thinks this Preaching was published *not long after Peter's death, containing several moral instructions relating to the worship of God, which were taken from the apostle's mouth, and committed to writing by his disciples; and that such are the fragments of it now remaining.*

7. Mr. Whiston<sup>p</sup> would have it in some sense *to be looked upon as one of the sacred books.*

Notwithstanding this concurrence of opinions, to elevate the authority of this Preaching of Peter, I am not afraid to assert it a most ridiculous, silly, and impious forgery. To establish which assertion, I observe,

First, That Origen, the anonymous author in Cyprian's time, Eusebius, and Jerome *have expressly and plainly rejected it as a spurious and apocryphal piece.* This is evident from the places produced in the last chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. VI. VII. IX. X. Nor can there be any doubt concerning this, as to either of them, except that Origen calls it, N<sup>o</sup>. VI. The Doctrine of Peter, and not The Preaching of Peter: to which I answer, that these two were only different titles for the same book, as is confessed by Dr. Cave and Dr. Grabe, in the places just now cited, and seems evident for these two reasons; viz.

1. That a passage produced by Cotelierius out of the Preaching of Peter is by Damascenus cited out of the Doctrine of Peter<sup>q</sup>.

2. As several things seem inserted into the Preaching of Peter which were in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, (viz. that

<sup>o</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 133.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Grab. loc. cit.

<sup>p</sup> Essay on Constit. p. 24.

of Christ confessing his sins, and being unwilling to be baptized by John till his mother compelled him; see N°. VII. in the foregoing chapter, and compare it with the passage in the Hebrew Gospel above in this part, Chap. XXV. N°. XV.) so also the passage produced by Origen out of the Doctrine of Peter, concerning Christ's not *being an incorporeal demon*, (above, Chap. preced. N°. VI.) *seems taken out of the Nazarene Gospel* as above, Chap. XXV. N°. XXVII. XXVIII. The Preaching therefore and Doctrine of Peter being confessed to be the same book, I argue against Dr. Grabe, that Origen's rejecting the one is rejecting the other; and therefore, though he do not in one place determine, whether it be spurious, genuine, or mixed; (see Chap. preced. N°. V. and II.) yet he doth so fully determine the matter here, by not allowing it to be so much *as an ecclesiastical book*, that we need say no more of his sentiments concerning it. I conclude it therefore apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI. And whereas it may be objected, that though it be not cited but rejected by these fathers, yet it *was approved* by Heracleon, Theodotus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Lactantius: I only answer as to the two first, *they were heretics of the worst sort*; Heracleon was indeed an early one, the predecessor of Cerdo, and a companion of Valentinus, who were at Rome in the time of Hyginus, the eighth bishop of that place, and consequently about the year of Christ CXXX.<sup>r</sup> He had the same principles with Valentinus, and added several new ones<sup>s</sup>. He who will read Irenæus's account of Valentinus<sup>t</sup>, and that in Epiphanius<sup>u</sup> concerning Heracleon, his Ogdoades, his Thirty Æones, his Two first Principles of all Things, his First Man the parent of all, whom he calls Bythus, and declares to have been neither male nor female, from whom the universal mother of all things, whom he calls Sige, arose, will not think it any credit to this book that he received it. Theodotus lived towards the end of that century, a heretic so infamous, that he was excommunicated by pope Victor: he entertained the most ridiculous tenets concerning Christ, *as being a mere man, the angels*

<sup>r</sup> See Iren. adv. Hæres. l. 2. c. 4. et lib. 3. c. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæres. c. 49. Epiphani. Hæres. 36. §. 2. and

Hæres. 41. §. 1. August. de Hæres. ad Quodvult. N. 16.

<sup>t</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 2. passim.

<sup>u</sup> Locis jam citatis.

*being material beings, and more or less so, according to their respective dignities; that they were of different sexes, commanded the stars, which had so great influence upon human bodies and actions, that Christ came in our nature, and suffered, to deliver those who believed in him therefrom*<sup>x</sup>. Such were the persons who first used this Preaching; from whence it is not difficult to form a judgment concerning the design and tendency of the book. As to the passages taken out of it by Clemens Alexandrinus and Lactantius, I shall consider them presently, and also in what manner they cited them.

Secondly, I observe, that this book was spurious and apocryphal, by Prop. VIII. because it contained several things contrary to those which are certainly known to be true.

Such is that of *Christ confessing his sins, and being unwilling to be baptized*, in that passage, Chap. preced. N<sup>o</sup>. VII. This is contrary to the whole design of Christianity, as has been above proved; (see Chap. XXIX.) which supposes the person, who was to make atonement, to have been without sin; and what is worth observing, directly contradicts what both Paul and Peter (the pretended authors of this book) have wrote elsewhere, 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. iv. 15. and 1 Pet. ii. 22. Not much different is the *story of Christ's being compelled by his mother to submit to John's baptism*; which implies him either to have been defective in wisdom, not knowing what he ought to do; or else in duty, not being inclined to what he ought to have done, or both.

Thirdly, I argue it of falsehood or contrariety to known truths, and therefore apocryphal, by Prop. VIII. *because it was intended and wrote with a design to support the doctrine of the eternal obligation of the ceremonial law of Moses*. This is most undeniably evident from the several passages in the pretended Letter of Peter to James, (produced in the preceding Chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. I.) which, though evidently a forgery, cannot be supposed to have taken things out of this book of Peter's Preaching, which were not in it. Now in that Epistle the pretended Peter, §. 2. *calls his Preaching νόμιμον*, that is, *according to the law*; and in the same place *speaks in very hard language of those who opposed the observation of the law*,

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Excerpt. ad fin. Opp. Clem. Alex. per tot. & Epiphan. Hæres. 54.

calling such opposition *mischievous*; and him, who was the opposer, *an enemy, and a teacher of trifling doctrines against the law*; by whom, without doubt, the author meant Paul, whom the Ebionites ever esteemed as their great enemy, because he opposed their law, and therefore were wont to call him *an apostate from the law*, and scandalized him, as *being induced to this by a disappointment he met with in an amour with the high priest's daughter*. See above in this part, Chap. XVII. N<sup>o</sup>. XVII. A little after, the same author *blames some who expounded some places of his works, as countenancing the doctrine of the abrogation of the law*, declares he had no such thoughts, and introduces Christ as asserting the necessity of a perpetual observance of the law. From all which it is most clearly manifest; the great design of the book, called The Preaching of Peter, was to encourage the Judaizing Christians, viz. the Nazarenes and Ebionites, in their medley religion of obeying the precepts of Moses, and believing in Christ. But all this, every Christian knows, is directly contrary to the very principles of his religion, which necessarily supposes the entire abolishment of the Mosaic economy; and as one of the foundations of which, he believes that not only Christ, but St. Paul repealed the whole system of ceremonies, as what neither the Jews nor Gentiles were to be obliged by. It would be superfluous for me to say any more on this head, it being agreed on by all Christians; only I cannot but remark here, that though St. Peter was indeed for some time (till he had his vision, Acts x.) *an observer of the law*, yet afterwards he was not wanting in declaring against the obligation of the law, and in the council at Jerusalem calls it a *yoke, which neither the Jews nor their fathers were able to bear*, Acts xv. 10. And in this doctrine we shall find the primitive Christians generally agreed, except only those called Nazarenes and Ebionites; of whom the catholic churches had so very mean an opinion, that they always styled them heretics, and reckoned them to be Christians *no further than that they bore the name of Christ*; and hence Epiphanius<sup>7</sup> tells us, "they would not be called, nor call themselves, Christians, and were in all respects Jews, only that they professed to believe on Christ."

<sup>7</sup> Hæres. 29. §. 7.

I confess indeed, Mr. Toland has troubled the world with a book, in which he would endeavour to prove, that *these were the only true Christians*, and therefore calls it *Nazarenus*; but his attempt is so weak, and has been so well answered by Dr. Mangey, that I shall take no further notice of it; only will be so kind to tell Mr. Toland, that this spurious Epistle of Peter to James will be of great service to him in any further endeavours he may engage in to promote his original plan of Christianity. As to the Epistle itself, I shall perhaps have occasion in the next volume more critically to inquire into it; in the mean time I only observe, *that it was made by some Ebionite*, and consequently *must be an ancient piece*; for, if I mistake not, the Ebionites did not continue in any considerable numbers, if at all, as a sect after the fifth century; but whether it was the preface of this Preaching of Peter, as Mr. Dodwell imagines<sup>2</sup>, or of the Recognitions of Clement, as Dr. Grabe conjectures<sup>3</sup>, is not material here to inquire, though I rather incline to the former opinion. Whichsoever it was, it affords us a good argument against this apocryphal Preaching of Peter.

Fourthly, I argue the Preaching of Peter to be apocryphal, as containing things false, *because it makes both Paul and Peter appeal to the Sibylline Oracles, the books of Hystaspes, and such like, for the confirmation of the Christian religion.* The matter of fact, as to Paul, is undeniable from that fragment in Clemens Alexandrinus in the preceding chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. III. where he is in so many words introduced, as exhorting those to whom he wrote, *to acknowledge the Sibylline Oracles and their predictions; to read Hystaspes, and observe the clear descriptions he gives of Christ, his sufferings, and the opposition he and his followers were to meet with in the world:* so also Peter is introduced (N<sup>o</sup>. VI.) as saying, *that he had perused the books of the prophets, in which were very particular descriptions of Christ, his coming, death, cross, sufferings, resurrection, ascension, and even his very name.* To me it is evident, the prophets here referred to are the same with those mentioned in the foregoing passage, viz. the Sibyls, Hystaspes, &c. not only because the prophecy there is of the same

<sup>2</sup> Dissert. 6. in Iren. §. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 59, 60.

sort with these, but because we know of no other prophetic books, containing such things. Indeed Dr. Grabe, in his notes at the end of the volume<sup>b</sup>, supposes they were taken out of some apocryphal book of the Old Testament: but this is plainly a groundless conjecture; if he means any book that pretended to belong to the canon of the Jews. It is enough to answer, there never appears to have been any such book; if otherwise, then there is all imaginable reason to conclude this apocryphal author meant the Sibyls, Hystaspes, &c. The fact therefore is certain, that both Paul and Peter *in this book made use of the Sibyls' Oracles, and Hystaspes, to confirm the truth of Christianity*: and who, at first thought, will not condemn this as a falsehood? Could there be any necessity these apostles, who had so much better arguments to convince the world, should make use of such abominable methods as these? Besides, it was quite contrary to their practice; we find them, upon all occasions, appealing to the records and prophecies of the Jews to prove Jesus to be the Messiah; but never, besides here, to any prophets among the Gentiles. In all their writings to the Gentiles, as well as Jews, no mention, no distant intimation, is to be found of their having seen or heard of any such books. I might urge a variety of this sort of arguments, but the matter is so plain, as not to need it; I shall only urge, that *these pretended prophecies were not in being when Peter and Paul lived*. The truth is, the Sibylline Verses, and the books of Hystaspes, Mercurius Trismegistus, &c. which speak so clearly of Christ, and so highly of the Christian religion, *were no other than the forgeries of some more pious than honest Christians in the first ages, designed to gain credit to their new religion*. This has been largely proved by many, and is the opinion of Casaubon<sup>c</sup>, Daillé<sup>d</sup>, Dr. Cave<sup>e</sup>, Spanheim<sup>f</sup>, Le Clerc<sup>g</sup>, Fabritius<sup>h</sup>, and in a manner all who have wrote of them. And indeed, were there no other arguments to prove them spurious, besides what may be gathered from

<sup>b</sup> P. 329.

<sup>c</sup> Advers. Baron. Exercit. 1. N<sup>o</sup>. 18. &c.

<sup>d</sup> Right Use of the Fathers, c. 3. p. 18, 19.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Liter. in Voc. Sibyll. p. 34.

<sup>f</sup> Spanh. Hist. Christ. Sect. 2. p. 677.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccles. Sect. 2. ad ann. cxxx. p. 598. &c.

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. p. 300. tom. 1.



the fragment under consideration, it would be sufficient, viz. that *they so very particularly describe the history of Christ, his coming, suffering, resurrection, ascension, and even his very name*, as others of them do *the whole business of Christianity*; *Omnia hujus generis quo apertiora, eo fieri* (says Casaubon) *suspensioniora*. For besides that it is so improbable a thing in itself, that the heathens should have been favoured with such prodigious discoveries, greater by far than any in the law of Moses, or the prophets of the Old Testament; the coming of Christ, his miracles, doctrine, resurrection, ascension, sending the Holy Ghost, &c. are always represented in the scriptures as *great discoveries*; hence the dispensation of the gospel is by Paul called *a mystery, which had been hid for ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ*, &c. Col. i. 26, 27. But how St. Paul could say this, and believe the writings of Hystaspes, and the Sibyls' Verses, is impossible to tell. I therefore conclude these Oracles to have been a forgery long after Peter and Paul's time, and therefore as they would not, so they could not appeal to them; and consequently, this Preaching of Peter and Paul was a forgery too, and so not only apocryphal by Prop. VIII. as containing things false, but also by Prop. X. as *containing things later than the time in which the authors, whose name it bore, lived*. Under this head I would further observe, that this spurious author makes the apostle Peter to *owe his own belief of Christianity to the predictions of these books*, (fragment VI. of Clemens Alexandrinus, chap. preced.) calls them *scripture*, and says, *God really appointed them*, which are yet further evidences of its spuriousness, and is so absurd, that I cannot but be surprised to observe Dr. Grabe so jumping in with that silly writer, as to call them *scripture* too; and so according to his example, speaking of it as though it were really St. Peter's, urging us *to prove every thing by the scriptures*. Thus I have largely from this instance proved this book apocryphal; nor do I know any thing that can be objected against the proof, unless it be what Baronius and the last named writer have said for the credit of the book, *that St. Paul did sometimes make use*

of testimonies from heathen authors; which, though it be indeed true, yet is very little to the purpose, it being one thing to cite the genuine books of a moral heathen for the support of a moral point, and another to make use of testimonies out of forgeries and spurious books, to prove the very foundation of the Christian revelation; a method, which though however much practised by some of the fathers, especially by Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Lactantius, is both unjust in itself, injurious to truth, and derided by their enemies. And hence we find Celsus objects it to Origen<sup>i</sup>, “that they had “corrupted the books of the Sibyls, by inserting many things “in favour of Christianity;” to which Origen gives a very weak answer in my judgment; perhaps, because he would not, or durst not give a better: and in another place Celsus, with an air of wit, banters the Christians under the name of Sibyllists<sup>k</sup>, and even Lactantius<sup>l</sup> owns, that the pagans “were “wont to object, that the verses, which the Christians cited “under the Sibyls’ names, were not really theirs, but forged “by the Christians;” and Constantine the emperor<sup>m</sup>, after he had produced the famous Greek acrostic concerning Christ, attributed to the Sibyl Erythræa, adds, Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπιστοῦσι καὶ ταῦθ’, ὁμολογοῦντες Ἐρυθραίαν γεγενῆσθαι Σιβύλλαν μάντιν ὑποκτεῖναι δὲ τίνα τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας, ποιητικῆς μούσης οὐκ ἄμοιρον, τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, that “Many men “did not believe it, though they confess the Sibyl Erythræa “to have been really a prophetess, but suppose that those “verses were made by some one of our religion, who had a “genius for poetry,” &c. I shall conclude this chapter with the judgment of St. Austin in this matter, which not only is a fair intimation of the forgery of the Sibyls, but implies a very strong argument against the Preaching of Peter. Discoursing against the Jews, he starts this objection: Perhaps it may be said, “that the Sibylline prophecies are forged by us;” and answers, “we have sufficient prophecies without them in the “Jewish books;” and in the end of the next chapter, discoursing of those who arrived to the saving knowledge of Christ, who were not Israelites, he mentions only the account

<sup>i</sup> Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 7. p. 368.

<sup>k</sup> L. 5. p. 272.

<sup>l</sup> De vera Sap. c. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Orat. ad Sanct. Cæt. c. 19.

in the book of Job, and adds, "That whatever prophecies of  
 " others," (viz. among the heathens, besides the book of Job,  
 " concerning the grace of God through Jesus Christ are pro-  
 " duced, may be thought the composures of the Christians;  
 " therefore nothing will be more effectual to convince any of  
 " the heathens, or to establish the Christians, if they think  
 " rightly, than urging those prophecies concerning Christ,  
 " which are in the books of the Jews n."

## CHAP. XXXV.

*The Preaching of Peter proved apocryphal by other arguments; as, viz. that it contained several contradictions and falsehoods. Instances assigned of both. How Lactantius cites it. How Clemens Alexandrinus cites it, viz. as a pious forgery of some Christians.*

WHAT has been already said may be thought sufficient to prove the spuriousness of this Preaching of Peter; but because it has been so highly esteemed, I shall subjoin two or three brief arguments more, viz.

Fifthly, I argue the Preaching of Peter to be apocryphal, from that passage in it cited by Heracleon, (produced above, Chap. XXXIII. N<sup>o</sup>. II. and more largely by Clemens Alexandrinus, in the same Chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. III.) viz. where Peter commands, *that God should not be worshipped according to the manner of the Jews, who, says he, worship angels and arch-angels, and the month, and the moon, &c.* This will afford us an undeniable argument against this book; to make which appear, I observe, that among the Judaizing Christians, even in the apostolic age, there *was a custom arose of paying worship or homage to the angels.* This is sufficiently clear from those obscure words of St. Paul, Col. ii. 18. *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility, and worshipping angels, &c.* where it is plain by the context he was guarding the Colossians against the insinuations of the Jews, *about the necessity of their worship, as to holy days, and new moons, &c.* The foundation of this practice was partly their opinion, that it was too great boldness in a creature to approach to his Creator

<sup>n</sup> De Civit. Dei, lib. 18. c. 46, 47.

without some intercessor, and partly because the law was given by angels; now *this practice* the pretended Peter *inveighs against*, but therein *contradicts some other parts of his book*, wherein, as it appears by the Epistle of Peter to James, (Chap. XXXIII. N<sup>o</sup>. I.) *the whole of the Ebionite scheme was contended for*. I conclude it therefore apocryphal by Prop. VII. as it contained contradictions.

Further, the passage forbids the *worshipping of the month and the moon, as the Jews did*, which either means, that the Jews *paid idolatrous worship to the moon*, as the heathens did, or else *their appointing their several feasts by it*, as they were appointed to do by the law of Moses. *If we suppose the former*, it will prove the book apocryphal by Prop. VIII. because the Jews about the time of our Saviour were not guilty of any such idolatry; and therefore Peter, who knew them, could not charge them with it: if we say the latter, which is indeed most probable, because it was their known practice, it will no less prove the book apocryphal, because *then it must contradict itself*; seeing the design of the book was to support the observation of the law of Moses (as appears by the Epistle of Peter to James just now cited), but the design of this command is to abrogate them: I say therefore, it is to be judged apocryphal by Prop. VII. as it contained contradictions.

Sixthly, The same character seems justly to be fixed upon the book from that passage cited by Clemens Alexandrinus twice (viz. Chap. XXXIII. N<sup>o</sup>. I. and II.) and by Theodotus, N<sup>o</sup>. IV. where Christ is called the Νόμος, the Law, *which seems to be upon no other account than to establish the Ebionite scheme of the everlasting obligation of the law*, which has been shewn to be the intent of this book. Apocryphal therefore by Prop. VIII.

Seventhly, The author of the book about Rebaptization (above, Chap. XXXIII. N<sup>o</sup>. VII.) has observed a very evident contradiction in it, viz. "After the two apostles Peter and Paul had conferred together, and disputed at Jerusalem, they afterwards met in the same city as much unknown to each other, as if they had never seen each other before." This seems either to argue, that both the apostles had memories exceeding treacherous, or else something (as the anonymous author says)

very absurd, i. e. contradictory to itself, and therefore what proves it apocryphal by Prop. VII.

Eighthly, The passage (N<sup>o</sup>. IV. out of Clemens Alexandrinus, above, Chap. XXXIII.) in which is Christ's command to his apostles, *not to go out into the world to preach the gospel, till after the expiration of twelve years*, will also prove it apocryphal. For though there be another testimony to this tradition, viz. Apollonius, a writer of the second century<sup>o</sup>, yet it seems very contrary, not only to the design of the Christian religion, which was intended to be as diffusive as possible, without any distinction of persons or nations, but also to the express testimonies of several of the books now received; as where our Saviour tells the woman of Samaria, *the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem, worship the Father*, &c. John iv. 21. where he tells his disciples, *the gospel was to be preached to all the world*, Matt. xxiv. 14. and actually commands them, without any limitation as to time, *to go forth and preach the gospel to every creature, and to all nations*, Mark xvi. 15. Matt. xxviii. 18. Besides, if Christ did give his apostles any such command, if the History of the Acts of the Apostles by Luke be true, they were disobedient to it; for it is certain that in much less time Peter had his vision, churches were planted in Samaria, Antioch, &c. by the preaching of the apostles: and therefore, after so much evidence, I may venture to assert this a spurious account of Christ; and consequently this Preaching, which contained it, also spurious.

I confess indeed, the Latin translator of Clemens has given these words another turn, and putting no point after the word *ἀμαρτίας*, but a full period after the word *ἐν*, makes the passage to speak thus, *He that will repent and believe on God through my name, his sins shall be pardoned after twelve years*. But this is more absurd and foolish than the former, and therefore I have chosen to follow Dr. Cave's punctuation and translation P.

Lastly, I might argue this book not to have been the composition of Peter and Paul, from the *great difference there is in the style of it from the known style of those two sacred writers*, and so prove it apocryphal by Prop. XI. but this I shall leave

\* Apud Enseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18.

† Hist. Liter. in Petro.

to the judgment and discretion of the reader, having said so much concerning the various sorts of styles under that proposition.

What remains further is, that I add *something concerning the manner in which Clemens and Lactantius have cited this book*. As to the latter, though he indeed produces a passage out of it, *he does not cite it as of any authority, nor in the least intimate that it was wrote by those apostles*. As to the former, though he indeed cite it several times, which has been made the great argument to support its authority, I shall think it sufficient to observe,

1. That *he never does cite it as scripture, or under that name*.

2. That *it does not follow from a bare citation of it, that he judged it to be the work of those apostles*. Why might he not cite it as an ecclesiastical book? I have above proved, that he did in like manner cite a passage out of the Gospel of the Hebrews, which yet himself rejected as not canonical; but

3. Suppose he did really *appeal to it as a genuine book*, it will be a most absurd inference, *that therefore it was canonical*; it is at most but the testimony of one single father against the express testimony of many others as good and proper judges as himself, as well as against a great many strong arguments of its spuriousness. But

4. To speak what I really think; *since it is certain the first Christians did forge several pious books to gain credit to Christianity*, as for instance, The Verses of the Sibyls, &c. out of the same principle I suspect Clemens made use of this book under the *name of Peter*, just in the same manner as he has very often in his works taken testimonies against the pagans out of the spurious Verses of the Sibyls. See p. 17, 32, 41, 223, 304, 323, 601, 604, 636, &c.

Upon the whole, I conclude this Preaching of Peter to have been the forgery of some Ebionites in the beginning of the second century, and contained things vastly different from any thing that ever the apostles preached; that it passed under various changes, suffered many interpolations, and was a most silly and impious imposture.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*The Revelation of Peter supposed by Dr. Grabe equal to the Revelation of John ; by Mr. Toland, as preferable to seven books of our present canon ; by Mr. Whiston, to have been a sacred book. Their opinion of it groundless ; for Clemens Alexandrinus never cited it. The Book of Hypotyposes not written by Clemens, but another ; proved out of Photius. A conjecture concerning the Hypotyposes supported out of Cassiodorus. The Excerpta Theodoti not made by Clemens. The contents of these Eclogues, or Excerpta ; and their contrariety to the known doctrines of Clemens. They were not part of the Hypotyposes, as Mr. Valesius supposes, nor part of the Stromata. This fully proved. The Preaching of Peter not esteemed by Eusebius. He does not contradict himself in relation to that book, as has been generally supposed. A method of clearing him.*

## Nº. LIII. The Revelation of Peter.

**BESIDES** the Gospel, Acts, Judgment, and Preaching, I observe there was also extant formerly a book called, The Revelation of Peter. The ancient writers who have mentioned it are as follow ; viz.

1. Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>1</sup>.

There was a book formerly extant under his name, but now lost, entitled, The Hypotyposes of Clemens ; and in this *he made use of the Revelation of Peter*, as Eusebius informs us<sup>1</sup>.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσειςι πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθέκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεπολήται διηγήσεις, μὴδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθών τὴν Ἰουδα λέγω, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς, τὴν τε Βαρνάβαν, καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην Ἀποκάλυψιν.

In the books of his called Hypotyposes, he has wrote some *short commentaries* upon all the books of scripture, not omitting even the *controverted books*, I mean that of Jude, and the other catholic epistles ; the Epistle of Barnabas, and that called The Revelation of Peter.

2. Theodotus<sup>2</sup>.

Διὸ καὶ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει

Wherefore Peter in his Revelation

<sup>1</sup> Lib. Hypotypos.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt. ad Calc. Opp. Clem. Alex. p. 806.

φῶσι, Καὶ ἀστραπὴ πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ πλήσσοῦσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.

saith, And the light of fire darted from those infants, and did strike upon the eyes of the women.

### 3. By the same<sup>t</sup>.

Αὐτίκα ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει φησὶν, Τὰ βρέφη ἐξαμβλαθέντα τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα πείρας, ταῦτα ἀγγέλῳ τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι, ἵνα γνώσεως μεταλάβοντα, τῆς ἀμείνονος τύχῃ μόνῃς, παθόντα ἂν ἔπαθεν καὶ ἐν σώματι γινόμενα· τὰ δ' ἕτερα μόνης τῆς σωτηρίας τεύξεται, ὥς ἡδικημένα ἐλεηθέντα, καὶ μένει ἄνευ κολάσεως, τοῦτο γέρας λαβόντα. Τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν ῥέον ἀπὸ τῶν μαστῶν καὶ πηγνύμενον, φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει, γεννήσει θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα, καὶ ἀνατρέχοντα εἰς αὐτάς, κατεσθίει.

Presently after, *Peter says in his Revelation*, "That abortive infants are in the most happy circumstances, that they are committed to a guardian angel, by which means they are so instructed, as to obtain a more excellent mansion, but first suffering what they would have suffered, if they had continued in the body: but as for others, they indeed find mercy, and obtain mansions of happiness for the injuries they have suffered; and thus in this condition they shall abide without punishment, receiving this for their reward." Again, as *Peter*

says in his *Revelation*, "the milk of women, flowing down from their breasts, and coagulating, shall produce small carnivorous animals, which should rush back upon them, and destroy them."

### 4. By Eusebius<sup>u</sup>.

Τὸ λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα· ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων, μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις.

That book, which is called *The Preaching of Peter*, and *The Revelation of Peter*, we know, have not been delivered to us (or esteemed) as *canonical books*; inasmuch as none of the ancients, nor any of our ecclesiastical writers, have taken testimonies out of them.

### 5. By the same<sup>x</sup>.

Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω—ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου.

The *Revelation of Peter* is to be ranked among those books which are spurious.

<sup>t</sup> Lib. cit. p. 897.

<sup>u</sup> Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Cap. 25. ejusdem libri.



6. By Jerome<sup>y</sup>.

Libri autem ejus, e quibus unus  
Actus inscribitur—quartus Apo-  
calypsis, inter apocryphas scri-  
pturas reputantur.

But the books under the name  
of Peter, of which one is entitled  
his Acts, another his Gospel,—a  
fourth his Revelation, are reck-  
oned among the apocryphal scrip-  
tures.

This is all that is to be found among the ancients relating to this book: there is not much said of it by the moderns; only Dr. Grabe<sup>z</sup> would by no means have it reckoned an heretical book, but *composed by the orthodox Christians, and no more liable to suspicion of heresy on account of its strange doctrines, than the Revelation of John, and therefore that we should not be too free in our conjectures about such ancient obscure prophecies.* The truth is, which I have often thought, this learned doctor had very much the same opinion of these books, and some, if not all those, of our present canon. Mr. Toland would have it esteemed as *valuable as seven books of our present canon*, (see the place above, Chap. XXXIV. N<sup>o</sup>. V.) *by more than a parity of reason*, i. e. there are better arguments for this book than those. Mr. Whiston<sup>a</sup> also *recommends it as a sacred book.*

The substance, and indeed the whole that is urged for the book is, that it *was made use of by Clemens and Theodotus, not rejected by Eusebius*, but *said to be read in all the churches of Palestine.* I shall consider each of these distinctly, and then proceed to determine concerning the book.

I. As to Clement's using this book, I observe, that this is founded wholly upon that place of Eusebius, above produced, N<sup>o</sup>. I. viz. where he says, that Clemens Alexandrinus in his *Hypotyposes wrote some short notes or commentaries upon all the parts of scripture, not omitting the controverted books, and among these The Revelation of Peter.* But to this I answer,

1. That it does not follow, that this book was of any authority, because Clemens did *write some short notes upon it.* This he might do in the same manner as several learned men have wrote notes upon the Apocrypha of the Old Testament.

<sup>y</sup> Catal. Viror. illustr. in Petro.

<sup>z</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 71. &c.

<sup>a</sup> Essay on the Constit. p. 24.

2. *Those Hypotyposes, or this book of Notes upon the whole Scripture, under the name of Clemens, were not really his, but the composure of some impious heretic.* The book itself is now quite lost, and only some few fragments of it preserved by Eusebius<sup>b</sup> and Photius<sup>c</sup>; but yet I think we want not evidence to make it appear to have been the work, not of Clemens, but of a quite different person, from the account the learned Photius gives of it. He says, it was indeed “an attempt to explain all the parts of scripture; and though sometimes he expounded justly, yet in other things his interpretations were impious and fabulous:” he asserts *matter to be eternal, makes Christ a creature, holds the transmigration of souls, and that there were great numbers of surprising worlds before Adam was made; that the angels had commerce with women, and children by them; that Christ was not flesh, but appeared to be so, with a thousand other such blasphemies and fooleries, &c.* On the account of which this book is not only despised by the excellent Photius, but rejected. And indeed any one, who has read the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, will easily perceive the whole of this book *contrary to the true Clemens and his principles*; which is also observed by Photius, cod. cxi. For speaking of his books, called Stromata, he remarks, that “though they are not in all respects sound, yet they are not like the Hypotyposes, which πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεί διαμάχεται, contain many things directly opposite to these.” After reading this, I made no question with myself, but these commentaries ascribed to Clemens *were a spurious piece*; and was not a little confirmed therein, when I observed that great master of books, Photius, had entertained the same suspicion, and seems inclined to believe these commentaries were made by τινὸς ἑτέρου τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ὑποκρίνεντος, “by some other person pretending to be Clemens;” upon which Andreas Schottus, his scholiast, notes, that his conjecture seems probable, because the *other parts of the works of Clemens contain sound doctrine.* I shall take it therefore for proved, that these Hypotyposes, or Notes upon the Epistles, were not written by Clemens, but *some silly heretic*; to all which I will subjoin a conjecture, which I cannot but think probable, viz. That those

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 12. l. 2. c. 1. 9. 15. l. 6. c. 14.<sup>c</sup> Cod. cix.

short notes, which are published by Dr. Fell<sup>d</sup>, under the name of Clemens Alexandrinus, upon the first Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, the first and second Epistles of John, were part of these old Hypotyposes, that went under the name of Clemens, which, if it be right, we shall be able to form another very good argument against them, viz. that Cassiodorus<sup>e</sup>, who translated them into Latin, says, he found *them so heterodox, that he thought proper to exclude a very large part of them from his translation*. If then the book of Hypotyposes was not really wrote by Clemens, it is plain, nothing can be hence gathered for the authority of the Revelation of Peter, which was made use of, or noted upon in it.

II. As to this Revelation being cited in the *Eclogues of Theodotus*, which are at the end of Clemens Alexandrinus; I think, that as its being cited there will be no credit to it, so the fragment there cited will be of itself sufficient to evidence that it was *a most egregiously silly and apocryphal book*. That it will gain no credit by being cited in these *Eclogues*, or *Excerpta*, is plain; for though they go under the name of Clemens, yet they are not his, nor is he any further concerned with them than as *a mere abbreviator*; if he *had indeed any concern at all with them*, which I can hardly persuade myself that he had, when I observe that the whole design of these *Eclogæ* is directly opposite to all the known books of Clemens; the former *being intended to countenance the errors of Valentinus and Basilides*, as is well observed by Sylburgius and the learned archbishop Usher<sup>f</sup>; but the latter, viz. the genuine works of Clemens, in many places are *designed to confute the errors of those two heretics*<sup>g</sup>; which is, I think, a convictive argument, either that Clemens had no concern in these *Eclogæ*, or Abridgment of Theodotus, or at least that he was no favourer of the doctrines therein contained; and consequently not Clemens Alexandrinus, but Theodotus, and some heretic of his mind, cited this Revelation of Peter. And if this be the case, I am sure it will add no credit to this book, that it is here

<sup>d</sup> In the end of his edition of that little tract ascribed to Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled, *Quis Dives Salvatur?*

<sup>e</sup> Lib. 1. De Institut. Script. Divin.

apud Rivet. Critic. Sacr. l. 2. c. 8.

<sup>f</sup> In a manuscript of his, entitled, *Bibliotheca Theologica*, cited by Dr. Cave, *Histor. Liter.* p. 56.

<sup>g</sup> See especially l. 3, 4.

cited, in the judgment of any one that will consider the wretched principles of that heretic above produced, near the beginning of Chap: XXXIV. To which now I add these further out of the same Eclogue, *That Christ was not only made by the Father, but made flesh at the beginning of the world; that he himself had need of redemption, which he obtained by the descent of the dove upon him after his baptism; that God the Father suffered with the Son; yet that the divinity receded from Christ before his passion, &c.* If such an author be allowed to have cited the Revelation of Peter, it will rather be an evidence against, than for its authority. I must not leave this head, without observing, that *Valesius<sup>h</sup> has imagined these Excerpta, or Eclogues, to have been part of the Hypotyposes, or Commentaries, of which I treated in the foregoing section;* because the same things were contained in both, and the Revelation of Peter was made use of in both; and because Pantænus, who was the master of Clemens, is called by that author of the Eclogues his master. To all which I answer, that if it should be true, that these Eclogues were part of the Commentaries, or Hypotyposes, yet nothing can be gathered thence for the credit of the Revelation of Peter, because I have proved even the Hypotyposes not to have been the books of Clemens. Nor are Valesius's arguments of any weight, seeing it is a thing very probable, that these two books might be the work of two other scholars of Pantænus, who had the same principles: besides, there is an unanswerable argument against his opinion, that the Hypotyposes consisted of short notes, or commentaries, upon all the parts of scripture; but there is not any thing like this to be found in the Eclogues, or Excerpta Theodoti. And hence it follows, that the conjecture of Heinsius, concerning these Hypotyposes, being a part of the last book of the Stromata, is also entirely groundless.

Upon the whole then I conclude, that as Clemens has nowhere cited the Revelation of Peter, so neither is it of any credit to it, that Theodotus, or his abbreviator, did.

III. But the main thing that is urged for the Revelation of Peter is, that *Eusebius did not reject it, but places it in the*

<sup>h</sup> Annot. in Euseb. l. 5. c. 11. et l. 6. c. 14.

same class with the *Epistle of Jude*, and the other catholic *Epistles*. This is urged by Dr. Grabe with a great deal of assurance; in which nevertheless he is most egregiously mistaken, as he is more than once in his judgment on those words of Eusebius; for in both those places where he mentions it, he absolutely rejects it. (See above in this Chapter, N<sup>o</sup>. IV. and V.) In the first he affirms, *that he certainly knew it was not delivered to the church as a canonical or catholic book*; and in the latter he *places it among the worst sort of books, which he calls  $\nu\theta\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ , i. e. spurious*. That which Eusebius made his rule to judge by, (which is indeed the only rule in the case,) was *the testimony of the ancients*, i. e. the tradition of those who lived nearer to the time when the books were written. This he urges against this book, and saith, that it was not delivered as canonical, and that no ecclesiastical writer has taken any testimonies out of it. But in this, says Mr. Toland<sup>i</sup>, Eusebius is *mistaken*; for the contrary appears by the testimonies marked in the catalogue, which any body may compare with the originals. Valesius<sup>k</sup>, and after him father Simon<sup>l</sup>, Dr. Grabe<sup>m</sup>, and others, go further, and *charge Eusebius with contradicting himself*; because *himself*, say they, in another place (viz. that above, N<sup>o</sup>. I.) *owns, that Clemens Alexandrinus cited it in the book of his Hypotyposes*. Simon indeed attempts to say something in favour of Eusebius, adding, that perhaps Eusebius only intended, that no ecclesiastical author had quoted these books as divine and canonical. And herein he is followed by Mr. Richardson, in his Answer to Mr. Toland, p. 75. But this is not likely, and I must confess is no other than what we commonly call, begging the question. Dr. Grabe accounts for it thus, viz. that *Eusebius in the beginning of his book had not sufficiently acquainted himself with those things, and therefore said, no ecclesiastical writer had cited this book; but, upon further inquiry into the old books, he found his mistake, and so owned what before he denied*. But this is a very precarious and groundless supposition; inasmuch as it is certain that Eusebius had read the works of Clemens

<sup>i</sup> Amyntor, p. 53, 54.<sup>l</sup> Sim. Crit. Hist. Nov. Test. part. 1.<sup>k</sup> Annot. in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

c. 3. p. 25.

<sup>m</sup> Spicileg. t. 1. p. 57, 58.

Alexandrinus, and made large use even of the Hypotyposes under his name<sup>n</sup>, before he had wrote this third book, where he says, that no ecclesiastical writer took testimonies out of this book under the name of *Peter*. Besides, had Eusebius thus in the sixth book perceived the mistake he was guilty of in the third book, (which Dr. Grabe supposes he did,) it was easy for him to have corrected it, by erasing what he had wrote falsely in the former place; but he not having done this, I conclude he was of the same mind, when he wrote both books. And though upon this hypothesis it may be thought, that Eusebius is chargeable with contradiction to himself; yet, with submission to these learned men, I think the charge most unjustly laid; for though he says, no ecclesiastical writer has taken testimonies out of the Revelation of Peter in one place, he does not say that Clemens Alexandrinus did take testimonies out of it in another: all that he says is, that he *wrote some short notes upon it*, (ἐπιτεμνόμενος διηγήσεις πεποιήται,) which is a very different thing from μαρτυριαῖς συνεχίστατο, i. e. *taking testimonies out of it, or appealing to it as of any authority*. Had the learned writers abovenamed observed this, I am persuaded Eusebius had not been suspected of a contradiction; after all which I may fairly conclude, there is nothing to be gathered from Eusebius for the credit or authority of the Revelation of Peter.

IV. The last thing urged for this Revelation is, that Sozomen, a writer of the fifth century, says, *it was read in some churches of Palestine once yearly*, viz. the day of Christ's passion<sup>o</sup>. Mr. Toland<sup>p</sup> refers to this place of Sozomen in his Catalogue; and Dr. Grabe<sup>q</sup> concludes from it, that *it was not a book of the heretics, else it would not have thus been read*. But inasmuch as Sozomen does not mention what *sort of churches these were*, whether of the heretics or catholics; it is most reasonable to conclude the former, not only because of the known heterodoxy of the book, but because Sozomen in the very same place tells us, that *it was rejected by the ancients universally, as a spurious piece*.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12. l. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Amyntor, p. 23.

c. 1. 9. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 72.

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19.

Thus I have largely considered this Revelation that went under the name of Peter: whether it *was a prophetic book concerning the miserable state of the Jews, and the state of the church to the time of antichrist*, as Dr. Grabe<sup>r</sup> and Dr. Mill<sup>s</sup> suppose, I shall not now inquire; only observe, that it was certainly apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI. I add also the IXth, as it contained things *ludicrous and trifling, fabulous and silly relations*; of which sort those are, produced above, N<sup>o</sup>. II. III. concerning *abortive children, the milk of women producing animals, &c.*

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Other books under the name of Peter, viz. The Acts of Peter by Leucius Charinus. The Gospel of Perfection, a forgery of the Gnosticks. A conjecture concerning the reason of the title, and the contents of the book. The Acts of Philip now extant in the Vatican. The Gospel of Philip. A fragment of it. Its contents, and abominable doctrines. A mistake of Mr. Du Pin concerning it.*

N<sup>o</sup>. LIV. *Other books under the name of Peter.*

I HAVE given these, for method sake, a distinct title, because I find them so mentioned by pope Innocent I.<sup>t</sup> His words are,

Cætera, quæ sub nomine Matthæi, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt—— non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.

But the other books under the name of *Matthew*, or *James the Less*, or under the name of *Peter and John*, which were written by one Leucius; know, that they are not only to be rejected, but condemned.

There can be no reason to doubt, but these were the same with those apocryphal Acts, of which I have largely treated above, as being forged under the apostles' names by Leucius Charinus, as will evidently appear from what is said Chap. XXI. especially from the passage of Photius.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. cit. p. 74.

<sup>s</sup> Proleg. in Nov. Test. §. 135.

<sup>t</sup> In Decret. sive Epist. ad Exuper. Episc. Tholos. c. 7.

N<sup>o</sup>. LV: *The Gospel of Perfection.*

THE most eminent and known heretics among the Christians in the first ages were those called the *Gnosticks*; of whom Irenæus says, that *they forged an infinite multitude of spurious and apocryphal books*<sup>u</sup>; and Epiphanius<sup>x</sup>, that *they made many gospels under the names of the disciples*. Among the rest of their forgeries he mentions the Gospel of Perfection in the following manner<sup>y</sup>.

Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐκπλαστον εἰσάγουσιν ἀγωγίμὸν τι ποίημα, ὃ ποιητεύματι ἐπέθεντο ὄνομα, Εὐαγγέλιον Τελειώσεως τοῦτο φάσκοντες· καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πένθους τελείωσις· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου τελείωσις ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποσπορᾷ τοῦ Διαβόλου ἐμφέρεται.

But others of them produce a certain *spurious and supposititious work*, to which work they have given the name of the *Gospel of Perfection*; which really is no Gospel, but the *Perfection of Sorrow*: for all the perfection of death (i. e. of destructive doctrine) is contained in that product of the Devil.

It seems not difficult, from the *very title* of this spurious book, to conjecture concerning the design or scheme of it. The Gnosticks, who forged it and used it, pretended to a greater *perfection* in knowledge and virtue than all others, and from thence took their very name Γνωστικοί; *Gnostici propter excellentiam sapientiæ, sic se appellatos esse vel appellari debuisse gloriantur*, &c. says Austin. de Hæres. t. 6. n. 6. See also Clemens Alexandrinus De Pædagog. l. 1. c. 6. et Stromat. l. 2. p. 398. For the same reason they called themselves καθαροί, πνευματικοί, &c. *pretending to greater sanctity and perfection of life than all besides*<sup>z</sup>; making themselves even wiser than the apostles, and to have found out *more perfect doctrines*, as Irenæus says<sup>a</sup>; and hence they were wont to call Peter and the rest of the apostles *imperfect*, as we learn from the same father<sup>b</sup>; from all which it may perhaps be a just inference, that *this Gospel had this title of Perfection*, because *it contained this their more perfect knowledge and great discoveries, which they had arrived to above even the apostles, or any other Christians*. If this conjecture be just, it is sufficient

<sup>u</sup> Advers. Hæres. l. 1. c. 17.

<sup>x</sup> Ead. Hæres. §. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Hæres. 26. §. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Iren. adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Id. l. 3. c. 12.



to prove it apocryphal, from the design of it, by Prop. VIII. But whatever becomes of this conjecture, it was certainly (as Epiphanius calls it) spurious and supposititious, and therefore apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI.

#### Nº. LVI. *The Acts of Philip.*

CONCERNING these I have met with nothing in the authors of those ages, to which I am confined, besides their being thus mentioned by pope Gelasius, in his Decree :

Actus nomine Philippi apostoli a- The Acts under the name of Philip the apostle are apocryphal.

Mr. Fabritius<sup>c</sup> has produced a large fragment of these Acts out of Anastasius Sinaita, a writer of the seventh century ; but this being so much after my time, I shall not transcribe it. The same learned writer in his third tome of additions to the two former<sup>d</sup> acquaints us, that Papebrochius has published some Acts under the name of Philip, and saw, but did not think fit to publish, some other Acts under the name of Philip, which are in a manuscript of the Vatican. There being nothing of them extant in the writers of the first four centuries, I shall not form any other conjecture concerning them, than that they were probably made either by Leucius Charinus, or were an appendage to his work.

#### Nº. LVII. *The Gospel of Philip.*

AMONG the other forgeries of the Gnosticks, Epiphanius<sup>e</sup> informs us there was one under this name, and adds, that

Καταγελῶσι δὲ λοιπὸν τῶν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀσκούντων, καὶ ἀγνείαν, καὶ παρθενίαν, ὥς εἰς μάτην τὸν κάματον ἀναδεδεγμένων. Προσφέρουσι δὲ εἰς ὄνομα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀγίου μαθητοῦ εὐαγγέλιον πεπλασμένον, ὅτι φησὶν, Ἀποκάλυψέ μοι ὁ Κύριος, τί τὴν ψυχὴν δεῖ λέγειν, ἐν τῷ ἀνίεναι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ πῶς ἐκάστη τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων ἀποκρίνησθαι. Ὅτι

They laugh at the conduct of the monks, and those who profess chastity and virginity, as submitting to unnecessary hardships. They produce a forged gospel under the name of the *Holy Apostle Philip* ; in which it is written, "The Lord hath revealed to me what the soul must say "when it makes its entry into "heaven, and what sort of answer it must make to each of

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. t. 2. p. 806.

<sup>d</sup> Tom. 3. p. 657.

<sup>e</sup> Hæres. 26. §. 13.

ἐπέγνω ἑμαυτὴν, φησί, καὶ συν-  
 ἔλεξα ἑμαυτὴν πανταχόθεν, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἔσπειρα τέκνα τῷ ἄρχοντι,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐξεφρίξωσα τὰς ρίζας αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ συνέλεξα τὰ μέλη τὰ διεσκαρ-  
 πισμένα, καὶ οἶδά σε τίς εἰ· ἐγὼ  
 γάρ, φησί, τῶν ἀνωθέν εἰμι· καὶ  
 οὕτως φησὶν, ἀπολύεται· Ἐὰν δέ,  
 φησὶν, εὐρεθῇ γεννήσασα υἱόν, κατ-  
 ἔχεται κάτω, ἕως ἂν τὰ ἴδια  
 τέκνα δυνηθῇ ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀνελ-  
 κύσαι εἰς ἑαυτήν.

"the heavenly powers: (viz. in  
 "the following manner:) I *knew*  
 "myself, and gathered<sup>l</sup>, recol-  
 "lected (or guarded) myself on  
 "all sides, and did not raise  
 "children for the Devil<sup>h</sup>, but ex-  
 "tirpated all his principles, and  
 "I have gathered together (now)  
 "the scattered members, (viz. of  
 "the body,) and I know who thou  
 "art, for I am one of the celest-  
 "tial number." And thus, says  
 that book, she is set at liberty."

but it adds, that if the soul be found to have propagated children, it is obliged to stay so long below, till she shall be able to receive and bring those children to herself, i. e. till the souls of the children depart.

This is a sufficient taste of this Gospel, which I suppose will be but indifferently relished by those, who have any taste either of religion or common sense. The book seems by this fragment to have been of a piece with the other performances of the Gnosticks, and as extravagant in its conceits as the Gospel of Basilides, Eve, or any of the rest. It seems by this fragment to have been particularly wrote with the view of supporting their doctrine of *the unlawfulness of procreation*; for though, as in the beginning of this passage, they did not forbid the use of women, and therefore laughed at the monks, yet they forbade the procreation of children, and for this purpose made use of methods so very abominable, and prodigiously unnatural and vile, that I had rather the reader should be ignorant of them, than be told by me. He who has a mind may read Epiphanius in the place referred to at the bottom of the page<sup>h</sup>. I will only observe, that in the place cited, that father tells us, they had apocryphal books which supported their obscene doctrines; which further confirms my conjecture about the contents of this Gospel. It appears plainly to be apocryphal, by Prop. IV. V. VI. VIII. and IX. and Mr. Du Pin<sup>i</sup>

<sup>l</sup> I know not how else to translate this mystical passage.

<sup>h</sup> So I translate ἀρχοντι, because they said that all procreation was from the

Devil.

<sup>h</sup> Hæres. 26. §. 5.

<sup>i</sup> Hist. of the Canon, vol. 2. c. 6. §. 5. p. 126.

imagines, it was the same with the Gospel that was made use of by the Ebionites, Basilides, and Apelles; but however just his opinion may be, as to the two latter, (though there is not, nor does he pretend to offer any reason for it,) yet sure I am, he must be mistaken as to the former, since the Ebionites entertained no such principles.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*The Gospel of Scythianus. He was the author of the Manichean heresy. The Gospel of the Simonians. The Revelation of Stephen.*

Nº. LVIII. *The Gospel of Scythianus.*

S.

THIS Gospel is only considerable, because it was composed by him who was the source and author of the Manichean heresy: it is mentioned,

1. By Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>k</sup>.

In a discourse concerning the heresy of the Manichees; of which and its rise, (seventy years before his writing), as also its progress, he gives a very particular account; he asserts one Scythianus to have been the first founder of the sect.

Σκυθιανός τις ἦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, Σαρακηνός τὸ γένος, οὐδὲν κοινωνῶν, οὔτε πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμόν, οὔτε πρὸς Χριστιανισμόν κεκτημένος. Οὗτος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδριαν οἰκίσας, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτελικὸν μιμησάμενος βίον, τέσσαρας βίβλους συνέταξε, μίαν καλουμένην Εὐαγγέλιον, οὐ Χριστοῦ πράξεις περιέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς μόνον τὴν προσηγορίαν, &c.

There was a certain person in Egypt named Scythianus, by nation a Saracen, having nothing common either with the Jewish or Christian religion. When he lived at Alexandria, and conformed himself to the rules of life in the *Aristotelic philosophy*, he composed four books; one called The Gospel, not containing any account of the actions of Christ, but only taking its title from him, &c.

2. By Epiphanius<sup>l</sup>.

Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ὁ προειρημένος Σκυθιανός τυφλωθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν,

Such were the opinions of Scythianus, who was infatuated in

<sup>k</sup> Catech. 6. c. 13.

<sup>l</sup> Hæres. 66. §. 2.

λαβὼν παρὰ Πυθαγόρου τὰς προ-  
φάσεις, οὕτως ἐφρόνησε· καὶ βί-  
βλους τέσσαρας ἑαυτῷ πλάσσειται,  
τῇ μιᾷ ὄνομα θέμενος Μυστηρίων,  
τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ Κεφαλαίων, τῇ τρίτῃ  
Εὐαγγελίου, τῇ τετάρτῃ Θεσαυ-  
ρῶν· ἐν αἷς ἰσόζυγα καὶ τὰ ἰσόβ-  
ροπα δύο ἀρχῶν συζεύξας πρόσωπα  
καθ' ἐκάστην ὑπόθεσιν, οὕτως ὑπο-  
λαβὼν ὁ τάλας, καὶ οὕτως κατὰ  
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐφαντάζετο, ὥς τι  
μέγα εὐρὼν τῷ βίῳ· καὶ τῷ ὄντι  
μέγα κακὸν εὐρατο τῷ βίῳ, καθ'  
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλανω-  
μένων.

his judgment, and borrowed his principles from Pythagoras. Besides, he composed four books ; calling one, The Book of Mysteries ; the second, The Book of Principles ; the third, The Gospel ; the fourth, The Book of Treasures ; in which he supposed two equal principles and persons united, in every argument ; and by these notions the wretch thought he had made some considerable discoveries in life ; but really he formed that which was very destructive to life, both in respect of himself and those who are deluded into his scheme.

There is not any thing more said of this apocryphal Gospel by the old writers ; nor indeed is there any need of it to prove it apocryphal : he who will consider it as one of the first books that gave birth to the sentiments of the Manichees, and knows any thing of that monstrous heresy, will easily be persuaded to look upon it as an apocryphal book, their principles being inconsistent with the very foundation of the Christian religion. I reject it therefore by Prop. IV. V. VI. VIII. and IX. The Manichees had some other Gospels, of which perhaps I shall say something below, N<sup>o</sup>. LXV.

#### N<sup>o</sup>. LIX. *The Acts of the Apostles by Seleucus.*

SELEUCUS (as I have above proved, Chap. XXI.) was only a different name for Leucius ; and consequently these are the same Acts with those under the name of Leucius Charinus, which have been largely considered in that place, and proved apocryphal, and therefore need no further discussion here.

Since the compiling of the catalogue in the former part of this work, I have observed in Dr. Mill an account of the Gospel of the Simonians <sup>m</sup>, as mentioned in the Arabic Preface to

<sup>m</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 261.

the Council of Nice, which is in Labbé<sup>n</sup>. That I might not omit any thing of this sort, I here give the reader that learned doctor's account of it. "The Simonians, (he supposes,) i. e. "the followers of Simon Magus, forged this Gospel, which, "according to the number of our four Gospels, they divided "into four parts; and at length about the time of Irenæus, "borrowing a title from the holy fathers of the church, who "wittily concluded there were four Gospels, because there "were four regions of the world, (or four principal winds<sup>o</sup>,) "they called it The Book of the four Corners or Regions of "the World." Agreeable to this we read in the book called The Constitutions of the Apostles<sup>p</sup>, that "Simon and Cleobius, and their followers, compiled books under the name of "Christ and of his disciples, in order to deceive," &c. It is to be rejected by Prop. IV. V. and VI.

N<sup>o</sup>. LX. *The Revelation of Stephen.*

I HAVE not found this any where besides in the Decree of pope Gelasius thus:

Revelatio, quæ appellatur Ste-	The Revelation under the name
phani, apocrypha,	of Stephen is apocryphal.

Apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI.

CHAP. XXXIX.

*The Gospel of Tatian. It was a compendious harmony of four Gospels. He seems to have made use of the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, or the Gospel of the Nazarenes. This proved by several arguments. The Harmony now extant among the orthodoxographa is not this old one of Tatian. An account of Tatian, his works and principles. The Gospel of Thaddæus. The catholic Epistle of Themison (mentioned by Apollonius). He was a Montanist, and lived as early as Montanus. The time of the rise of Montanism, about the year of Christ CLXXIV. An account of that heresy. A digression concerning the agreement of the Mahometan*

<sup>n</sup> Tom. 2. Concil. p. 386.

by Toland, Amyntor, p. 50, 51.

<sup>o</sup> This we meet with in Irenæus, adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 11. and ridiculed

<sup>p</sup> Lib. 6. c. 16.

*scheme with that of the Montanists and Manichees. Mr. Toland's mistake in this matter.*

Nº. LXI. *The Gospel of Tatian.*

T.

**ALTHOUGH** several ancient writers make mention of a work of Tatian, relating to the Gospels; yet I have cited none of them besides Eusebius and Epiphanius, because no one else entitles his work *a Gospel*. It is first mentioned

By Eusebius<sup>9</sup>.

Χρῶνται μὲν οὖν οὗτοι Νόμον καὶ Προφῆταις, καὶ Εὐαγγελίοις, ἰδίως ἐρμηνεύοντες τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νοήματα γραφῶν· βλασφημοῦντες δὲ Παῦλον τὸν ἀποστόλον, ἀθετοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, μῆδε τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων καταδεχόμενοι. Ὁ μὲν τοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς, συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν Εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται.

They (the Encratites or Severians) do make use of the law and the prophets, and the gospels, but expound the sacred scriptures according to their own sentiments. They speak evil of the apostle Paul, and reject his Epistles; neither do they receive the Acts of the Apostles. The first author of their sect was Tatian, who made *I know not what sort of a harmony of the Gospels*, and called it, *The Gospel of the Four*; which is even to this day in the hands of some.

By Epiphanius<sup>1</sup>.

Λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.

They say, that the Gospel of the Four was made by him, (viz. Tatian,) which some call *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

From both these places it is evident, that this composure of Tatian was no other than a Harmony of four Gospels; it seems to have been a sort of epitome of the whole history that is in our four Gospels; for Theodoret, a bishop of Cyprus<sup>2</sup>, tells us, that “many, not only of the impious sect that followed “Tatian, but of the orthodox Christians, (τὴν τῆς συνθήκης κα- “κουργίαν οὐκ ἔγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπλούστερον αἷς συντόμῳ τῶ βιβλίου “χρησάμενοι,) not perceiving the craft intended in the com-

<sup>9</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Hæres. 46. §. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hæret. Fabul. lib. 1. cap. 20.

“posure, innocently made use of it as a more compendious “volume.” This is sufficient intimation to us, that there were in the work some heretical opinions, or at least what that bishop thought such. These, if I may conjecture, seem to have been some passages or histories taken out of the Gospel of the Nazarenes or Hebrews; which I suppose Tatian made use of in compiling his Harmony, as much or perhaps more than the Greek copies of St. Matthew; and this I am inclined to think,

1. Because Epiphanius assures us, “This work of Tatian “was called by some The Gospel of the Hebrews; and this “cannot be supposed to have happened from any other cause “more probable.” I know indeed Valesius<sup>t</sup>, and after him Mr. Fabritius<sup>u</sup>, boldly asserts, that “Epiphanius was mis- “taken, at least that those he speaks of were mistaken, who “said that it was called The Gospel of the Hebrews;” and the reason Valesius offers is, that “the Gospel of the Hebrews “was much older than Tatian.” But nothing can be more weak than this. Does it follow, that because the Gospel of the Hebrews was before the time of Tatian, that therefore upon Tatian’s making use of it, and translating a good part of it into his Harmony, his work could not be called by that name? On the contrary, nothing is more probable, than that his work should be thus called, upon that supposition.

2. I argue it further as probable, that Tatian made use of the Hebrew Gospel, because *as the genealogy was omitted in that*, (see above, Chap. XXV. No. XI.) *so also it was in the Gospel of Tatian*, as is expressly testified by Theodoret in the place now cited.

3. *Tatian was by birth a Syrian, first spread his notions in Mesopotamia*<sup>x</sup>, and consequently well knowing, and probably well acquainted with the Gospel of the Nazarenes; as well knowing the language of it, and probably himself one of that sect.

4. Ambrose, in a passage wherein he undoubtedly refers to this Gospel of Tatian, intimates, *that it contained several heretical and impious things*: many, says he, have jumbled into

<sup>t</sup> Annot. in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 29.

<sup>u</sup> Cod. Apoc. Nov. Testam. par. 1. p. 349.

<sup>x</sup> See what he saith of himself in the end of his Oratio ad Græcos, at the end of Justin Martyr’s works, and Epiphanius. Hæres. 46. §. 2.

one book those things out of the four Gospels, which they found agreeable to their malignant principles<sup>v</sup>.

If this account be true, we are to conclude it apocryphal by the same arguments (at least many of them) as those by which I proved the Hebrew Gospel of the Ebionites to be so above, Chap. XXIX. If it be not true, then it is only to be looked upon as a composure out of our present Gospels.

There is indeed now extant among the orthodoxographa a Harmony ascribed to Tatian; but, as has been well observed by several learned men, (Valesius<sup>z</sup>, Fabritius<sup>a</sup>, Dr. Mill<sup>b</sup>, and others,) *it cannot be the same with this, which we are now discussing, because it hath the genealogy in it, which this had not, as appears from what is above said.* I shall conclude this section with some account of Tatian. *He was, after having made a considerable figure as a tutor of oratory, a disciple of Justin Martyr, continuing an ornament to the church while he lived, but afterwards he fell into heresy; he wrote a prodigious number of books, of which the most valuable one is now extant, viz. that against the Gentiles at the end of Justin Martyr's works.*

Irenæus<sup>c</sup> and Epiphanius<sup>d</sup> add some account of his principles, as that *he coincided with the Valentinian doctrine of the Æones, denied the salvation of Adam, held all sorts of marriage unlawful, and as criminal as adultery. He is reported to have adulterated St. Paul's Epistles by changing their phraseology<sup>e</sup>.* He lived in the time of Marcus Antoninus Verus, and Lucius Commodus<sup>f</sup>; but a more particular account of his age may be seen in Mr. Dodwell's Dissertation on Irenæus, 4. §. 32, 33.

#### Nº. LXII. The Gospel of Thaddæus.

OF this I know no more than that it is mentioned by pope Gelasius in his Decree thus:

Evangelium nomine Thaddæi apostoli apocryphum.

The Gospel under the name of Thaddæus the apostle is apocryphal.

To be rejected by Prop. IV. V. and VI.

<sup>v</sup> Comment. in Luc. i.

<sup>z</sup> Loc. jam cit.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. cit. p. 378.

<sup>b</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 351.

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 31. et 3. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Hæres. 46. §. 2, 3.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 29.

<sup>f</sup> Hieronym. Catalog. Viror. illustr. in Tatiano.



N<sup>o</sup>. LXIII. *The Catholic Epistle of Themison.*

THE Montanists, though a very considerable sect, do not seem to have feigned many books for the support of their doctrines. Apollonius, who wrote against them, as he says, just forty years after their rise, viz. about the year of Christ CCXIV, mentions a composure of Themison, one of their confessors, resembling the apostles. His words are,

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θεμισὼν ὁ τὴν ἀξιόπιστον πλεονεξίαν ἠμφισμένης, ὁ μὴ βαστάσας τῆς ὁμολογίας τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ πλήθει χρημάτων ἀποθέμενος τὰ δεσμά· δέον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταπεινοφρονεῖν, ὡς μάρτυς καυχώμενος, ἐτόλμησε μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον, καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολὴν, κατηχεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἄμεινον αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας· συναγωνίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς τῆς κενοφωνίας λόγοις· βλασφημῆσαι δὲ εἰς Κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

But Themison, who was most excessively covetous, had not the evidences of having been a martyr, but by the abundance of his money purchased immunity. And when upon that account he ought rather to have been humble, he exalted himself as a martyr, and was so impudent as to imitate the apostle, and to compose a certain Catholic Epistle, pretending thereby to give instruction to those, who were better Christians than himself, and contending for the ridiculous doctrine of the Montanists, and speaking evil of our Lord and his apostles, and the holy church<sup>s</sup>.

This book appears, not only by its pompous title, but the whole design of it, *to have pretended to inspiration*, which was at that time the great support of the Montanist heresy. Of this Themison, its author, I find no mention besides in this place of Eusebius. He lived very near, if not in the time of Montanus, (viz. the year of Christ CLXXIV. according to the Chronicon of Eusebius,) because Apollonius, who wrote against the Montanists and against Themison, wrote his book but forty years after the Montanist heresy first began (as himself says<sup>h</sup>). Besides, it seems very probable (as Valesius has well observed<sup>i</sup>) from several parts of this fragment of Apollo-

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 18.

<sup>h</sup> Apud Euseb. loc. cit.

<sup>i</sup> Annot. in loc. cit. Euseb. I observe, that Epiphanius, exposing the Montanists, because their pretended

prophecies were not accomplished, (Hær. 48. §. 2.) adds, "that from the time of their being given out to the time of his writing, which," says he, "was in the twelfth year of Valen-

nius, that he wrote against the Montanists, while Montanus and his mad prophets were yet alive; nor does his saying he wrote forty years after the rise of the Montanists at all contradict this; for if we suppose Montanus to have been about thirty years old when he began his heresy, he would not have been above seventy when Apollonius wrote against him; from which it is evident, this catholic Epistle was forged in imitation of the apostles, at the rise of Montanism, consequently, as Apollonius says, to *support that ridiculous scheme*, and therefore a book falsely pretending to inspiration. So that however this Epistle was esteemed by the Christians of that sect, it must certainly be apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI. as also by Prop. VIII. as *containing things contrary to known truths, and destructive of the first principles of Christianity*; as will appear to any one who will be at the pains to read the account given of this sect by Apollinaris Hierapolitanus<sup>k</sup>, Apollonius<sup>l</sup>, Serapion<sup>m</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>n</sup>, and many others of the ancients; and to those who will not, if they consider that Montanus *pretended to deal much with a dæmon, by whose influence he fell into strange ecstatic fits and raptures, which he afterwards communicated to two she-prophets, who, as all his followers taught by him, acknowledged him to be the Paraclete, or Comforter promised by our Saviour.* (John xiv. 16.) In this he was followed by Terebinthus, afterwards called Manes, the head or father of the Manichees, who called himself the *Paraclete* promised by our Saviour, as St. Cyril<sup>o</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>p</sup>, and many others assure us; and this I mention by the by, to propose, for further discussion, an opinion which I have long had, that *the Mahometan scheme was very much founded upon, or gathered from, the impious, ridiculous tenets of the Montanists, or Manichees, or both*; seeing it is a thing certain and well known, that Mahomet's followers, among other titles,

"*tinian and Gratian, there had passed*  
 "ἡν ἔλαυν ἡ ἰαδὲν διακρίσιν ἰνῶν-  
 "ra, i. e. about 290 years;" but in this either Epiphanius was mistaken, or his copies are corrupt; for the twelfth year of Valentinian answering to the year CCCLXXV of Christ, and the Montanist heresy not arising till the year CLXXIV, there could at most be, between the birth of this he-

resy and his writing, but 201 years; and therefore I suppose some fault to have happened through the carelessness of some scribe in Epiphanius.

<sup>k</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 16.

<sup>l</sup> Apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 18.

<sup>m</sup> Apud eund. l. 5. c. 19.

<sup>n</sup> Hæres. 48.

<sup>o</sup> Catech. 6. c. 14.

<sup>p</sup> Hæres. 66. §. 12.

give him that of *Paraclete*, which is the Greek word used by St. John for the *Comforter*, made Arabic, as dean Prideaux has well observed <sup>q</sup>, and not taken from *any word in that language*, which signifies famous, or illustrious, as Mr. Toland, with as much ignorance as malice, suggests<sup>r</sup>. It is true, the Mahometans pretend, that the *very name of Mahomet*, both here and in other places of the Gospel, *was expressly mentioned*, but that the *Christians, out of malice, have blotted it out, and corrupted those holy writings*; and that at Paris there is a copy of these Gospels, without these corruptions, in which the coming of Mahomet is foretold in several places, with his name expressly mentioned in them<sup>s</sup>: but nothing can be more ridiculous than Mr. Toland's account of this matter, viz. that the Mahometans maintain that the original was *Periclyte*, signifying *famous*, i. e. in Arabic, *Mohammed*, and not *Paraclete*; for besides, that there is no word like that in Arabic, which signifies *famous*, and answers to *Mohammed*, (which Dr. Mangey challenges him to prove<sup>t</sup>, and he durst not attempt, but intolerably shuffles over in his answer<sup>u</sup>;) the fact is notoriously false; the Mahometans, as has been said, laying their charge, in this respect, in another and more consistent manner, than he, with all his skill, was able to do for them. But though Mr. Toland be so wretchedly mistaken here, yet he again repeats his invidious insinuation, p. 16. "The Muslims accuse our Gospels of corruption in the 16th and 26th verses of the fourteenth chapter of John." But why Gospels? as though the accusation extended to all the four; when it only, at most, affects the Gospel of John? The fact in short is no more than this. Mahomet in the *sixty-first chapter* of his Alcoran hath these words: "Remember that Jesus the son of Mary said to the children of Israel: I am the messenger of God; he hath sent me to confirm the Old Testament, and to declare unto you, that there shall come after me a prophet, whose name shall be Mahomet." On this account his followers found it necessary to charge corruption on our Gospels in the manner abovesaid<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Life of Mahomet, in the end.

<sup>r</sup> Nazaren. p. 13.

<sup>s</sup> See dean Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, in the end.

<sup>t</sup> Remarks on Nazarenus, c. 6. p. 35.

<sup>u</sup> Mangoneutes, p. 181.

<sup>x</sup> Thus well reasons the learned dean in the place cited.

I hope this digression may not be unserviceable, nor the hint above mentioned of the agreement between the Mahometans and Montanists.

## CHAP. XL.

*The Acts of Thomas. Not the same with those made by Leucius Charinus, but much older. A manuscript in the French king's library under the title of the Acts of Thomas. Another under the same title in the Bodleian at Oxford. The Gospel of Thomas. There were undoubtedly two Gospels under this name. The Revelation of Thomas. Books under his name.*

### Nº. LXIV. The Acts of Thomas.

THESE apocryphal Acts are mentioned by several of the ancients, particularly,

#### 1. By Epiphanius<sup>γ</sup>.

Κέχρηται δὲ γραφαῖς πρωτοτύπως ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου Πράξεσι, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ ἀποκρύφοις τισὶ, &c.

They, i. e. the Encratites, principally make use of those scriptures, which are called The Acts of Andrew and John, and Thomas, and some other apocryphal books, &c.

#### 2. By the same<sup>z</sup>.

Οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις Πράξεσιν Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Θωμᾶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπερείδονται, παντάπασιν ἄλλότριοι τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ὑπάρχοντες.

They, i. e. the Apostolicks, chiefly depend upon those scriptures which were called The Acts of Andrew and Thomas, altogether departing from the canon of the church.

#### 3. By Athanasius<sup>α</sup>.

Τὰ τῆς νέας διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα, περίοδοι Πέτρου, περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, περίοδοι Θωμᾶ, &c.

The apocryphal books of the New Testament are these, The Acts of Peter, The Acts of John, The Acts of Thomas, &c.

#### 4. By Gelasius in his Decree.

Actus nomine Thomæ apostoli apocryphi.

The Acts under the name of Thomas the apostle are apocryphal.

<sup>γ</sup> Hæres. 47. §. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Hæres. 61. §. 1.

<sup>α</sup> In Synops. versus fin. See the place at large above, Chap. XXI.

There appears no small difficulty in determining exactly concerning these Acts. It is certain that there was a book of Acts of the Apostles, of which I have above treated, Chap. XXI. composed by Leucius Charinus, containing the Acts, not only of Peter, John, Andrew, and Paul, but also of Thomas; and hence Mr. Fabritius<sup>b</sup>, Dr. Mille<sup>c</sup>, &c. have thought the Acts of Thomas, wherever they are mentioned, to be the same book; but herein I suppose they are mistaken, because these Acts of Thomas are mentioned by Epiphanius, as being used by *some sects of the Gnosticks, viz. the Encratites and Apostolicks*, who arose from Tatian in the second century, even before Irenæus, and consequently *long before the time of Leucius*, who lived (as has been proved) in the *latter end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century*. And though I have above said, Chap. V. N<sup>o</sup>. I. that it is probable the Encratites and Manichees *made use of the same Acts*, whence it would seem to follow, that they were the same with those made by Leucius, because his were in great request among the Manichees; yet this difficulty is easily answered, by supposing that Leucius, who was a Manichee, did *so largely interpolate them, or so much alter them*, that they were afterwards called by his name. They are however plainly apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. and VI. There are indeed *some large accounts of Thomas* in Austin's works<sup>d</sup>, which are thought to be taken out of these Acts; but inasmuch as these Acts are not expressly mentioned, they do not properly fall under my consideration; but may perhaps be produced in a more convenient place in the next volume, where I shall consider these Acts as a book now extant, seeing father Simon affirms, there is such a book in the French king's library, and Dr. Grabe<sup>e</sup> says that he met with it in our Bodleian.

#### N<sup>o</sup>. LXV. *The Gospel of Thomas.*

THERE is at this day extant a Gospel under the name of Thomas, otherwise entitled, The Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour, which I shall in the next part of this work insert;

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. tom. 2. p. 823.

c. 17. contr. Faust. Manich. lib. 22. c. 79.

<sup>c</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 338.

<sup>e</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 324.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. adv. Adimant. Manich. t. 6.

but it being very uncertain whether it be the same with this ancient one, I shall here produce the places where this is mentioned within my time, without any regard to that. It is mentioned,

### 1. By Origen<sup>f</sup>.

*Ecclesia quatuor habet evangelia, hereses plurima;—Scio evangelium, quod appellatur Secundum Thomam, &c.*

The church receives only four gospels, the heretics have many; —I know one entitled, The Gospel of Thomas, &c.

### 2. By Eusebius<sup>g</sup>.

*Ἦν εἶδέναι ἔχομεν—τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν Αἱρετικῶν προσφερομένας, ἧτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ—Εὐαγγέλια, &c.*

That we may know the books published by the heretics under the apostles' names, *such as the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, &c.*

### 3. By Cyril<sup>h</sup>.

After having given a complete catalogue of the books of the Old Testament and of the New, which is exactly agreeable to our present canon, except that the Revelation is omitted, he adds,

*Τῆς δὲ καινῆς διαθήκης τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερά τυγχάνει. Ἐγραψαν καὶ Μανιχαῖοι κατὰ Θωμᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ὥσπερ εὐαδία τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς προσωνυμίας διαφθείρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων.*

There are but four Gospels belonging to the New Testament; the rest are falsely so called, and hurtful. *The Manichees also have wrote a Gospel according to Thomas, which passing under the specious title of a Gospel, corrupts the minds of the weaker [Christians].*

### 4. By the same<sup>i</sup>.

*Μηδεὶς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τῶν κακῶν τριῶν τοῦ Μάνη μαθητῶν.*

Let no one read the Gospel according to Thomas; for it is not the gospel of one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three wicked disciples of Manes (whose name was Thomas.)

### 5. By Ambrose<sup>k</sup>.

*Multi evangelia scribere conati*

Many have attempted to write

<sup>f</sup> Homil. in Luc. i. See the place at large above, Chap. VII. N<sup>o</sup>. V.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3; c. 25. See the passage at large above, Chap. XXI.

<sup>h</sup> Catech. 4. c. 22.

<sup>i</sup> Catech. 6. c. 18.

<sup>k</sup> Comment. in Luc. i. See the passage at large, Chap. VII. N<sup>o</sup>. V.

sunt, quæ boni numularii non probaverunt—Fertur evangelium, quod scribitur secundum Thomam, &c.

gospels, which the catholic church has not approved—There is one spread abroad, which is entitled, The Gospel according to Thomas.

#### 6. By Athanasius<sup>1</sup>.

Τὰ τῆς νείας διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα—Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶ, &c.

The apocryphal books of the New Testament are these—The Gospel of Thomas, &c.

#### 7. By Jerome<sup>m</sup>.

Plures fuisse qui evangelia scripserunt, Lucas evangelista testatur, dicens, Quoniam quidem multi, &c. quæ a diversis auctoribus edita diversarum hæreseon fuere principia, ut est illud juxta Ægyptios et Thomam, &c.

*Luke the evangelist assures us, there were many who wrote gospels, (ch. i. 1.) which being published by various authors, gave birth to various heresies; such is that according to the Egyptians and Thomas, &c.*

#### 8. By Gelasius in his Decree.

Evangelium nomine Thomæ apostoli, quo utuntur Manichæi, apocryphum.

The Gospel under the name of Thomas the Apostle, which the Manichees use, is apocryphal.

I need say no more of this book, than that it appears plainly to have been a spurious piece, composed by the heretics, and apocryphal by Prop. IV. V. VI.; only I must observe, that the Gospel of Thomas, of which Cyril speaks, composed by Thomas, one of the followers of Manes, the head of the Manichees, could not possibly be the same with that mentioned by Origen, and perhaps most of the other writers, except Gelasius; because Origen lived a considerable time before the Manichean heresy, or even Manes himself was known in the world: this being not till the *latter end of the third century*, viz. till the time of Aurelius Probus, or Dioclesian, (as I have above observed, Chap. XXI.) whereas Origen *lived in the beginning of it*.

<sup>1</sup> In Synops. See the passage at large above, Chap. XXI.

<sup>m</sup> Prefat. in Comment. in Matth.

See the place at large above, Ch. VII. No. IV.

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVI. *The Revelation of Thomas.*

IT is only mentioned by Gelasius in his Decree.

Revelatio, quæ appellatur Thomæ apostoli, apocrypha.

The Revelation, which is ascribed to Thomas the apostle, is apocryphal.

To be rejected by Prop. IV. V. and VI.

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVII. *Books under the name of Thomas.*

By Innocent I.<sup>n</sup>

Cætera, quæ sub nomine Matthæi—et sub nomine Thomæ—non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.

The other books under the name of Matthew—or the name of Thomas,—know, that they are not only to be rejected, but condemned.

It is not very certain what books under this apostle's name this pope here designed to condemn; it is probable they were not the Acts, because he would have attributed them to Leucius, whom he just before refers to, as the author of spurious Acts under the names of Peter and John, and others, as has been proved, Chap. XXI. I suppose therefore he rather intended the Gospel of Thomas.

## CHAP. XLI.

*The Gospel of Truth, a forgery of the Valentinians. Some account of Valentinus. A Gospel under his name.*

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVIII. *The Gospel of Truth.*

THIS book was undoubtedly a composure of the second century, and very early therein it is mentioned by Irenæus<sup>o</sup> thus: His igitur sic se habentibus, vani omnes et indocti, et insuper audaces, qui frustrantur speciem evangelii<sup>p</sup>, et vel plures quam dictæ sunt, vel rursus pauciores inferunt personas evangelii—

Seeing these things are so, (viz. that there are but four gospels,) it follows, that they are all silly and ignorant, as well as impudent, who attempt to make any alteration in the Gospels, and

<sup>n</sup> In Decret. sive Epist. 3. ad Exuper. Episcop. Tolos. c. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Advers. Hæres. l. 3. c. 11. ad fin.

<sup>p</sup> This passage is not intelligible,

without considering his preceding allegation of the four Gospels and four animals.



Hi vero qui sunt a Valentino, iterum existentes extra omnem timorem, suas conscriptiones proferentes, plura habere gloriantur, quam sint ipsa evangelia; siquidem in tantum processerunt audaciæ, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, Veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens apostolorum evangelis, ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia. Si enim, quod ab iis profertur, Veritatis est Evangelium, dissimile est autem hoc illis, quæ ab apostolis nobis tradita sunt; qui volunt possunt discere, quemadmodum ex ipsis scripturis ostenditur, jam non esse id quod ab apostolis traditum est Veritatis Evangelium. Quoniam autem sola illa vera et firma, et non capit neque plura præterquam prædicta sunt, neque pauciora esse evangelia, per tot et tanta ostendimus.

make the authors of the Gospels to be either *more or fewer* [than four]. But the Valentinians, without any modesty, producing some writings of their own, boast that they have more than the [four] Gospels; for they have been so very impudent, that they have entitled one, The Gospel of Truth, which was not long since written by them, nor does in any thing agree with the Gospels of the apostles; so that they have really no gospel but a mere forgery<sup>a</sup>; for if that gospel which they produce, entitled, The Gospel of Truth, be disagreeable to those which have been delivered to us by the apostles; every one may perceive (as has been proved above from the scriptures) that the Gospel of Truth is not one of those delivered by the apostles. Besides that I have above by several good arguments evinced, that only the [four] above mentioned Gospels are true and just, and to be received.

This passage leaves us no room to doubt concerning the design and scope of this Gospel, being calculated to serve the purposes of the *Valentinian scheme*. The author of the sect, Valentinus, was at Rome under Hyginus, about the year of Christ 142, (according to the Chronicon of Eusebius,) but according to the opinion of some modern critics, near twenty years sooner; which indeed seems to me undeniably demonstrated by several good arguments by our learned bishop Pearson<sup>r</sup>. He was one of the *principal authors of the Gnostics*; and of his sentiments we have a very particular account given

<sup>a</sup> So I translate the word *blasphemia*, because it at least implies some injus-

tice done to the apostles.

<sup>r</sup> Vindic. Epist. Ignat. par. 2. c. 7.

us by Irenæus<sup>1</sup>, Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>2</sup>, Tertullian<sup>3</sup>, Origen<sup>4</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>5</sup>, and several others, which I shall not here largely enumerate, but only give the reader the following specimen. *Having been educated in the Platonic philosophy at Alexandria, he formed his notions of Christianity agreeable thereto. He imagined certain gods, which he called Æones, to the number of thirty, whose names and pedigree (conformable to the fabulous genealogies of Hesiod) he pretended to assign. Fifteen of them he would have to be male, and fifteen female. Epiphanius has preserved their names: they are such as these; Ampsiu, Auraan, Bucua, Thartua, Ubucua, Thardeadie, &c. That Christ brought a body with him from heaven, and passed through the Virgin as water through a pipe. He asserted the lawfulness of all sorts of lusts to his disciples, allowing them to force other men's wives, &c. denied the resurrection, contended for the transmigration of souls, &c.* Such were very probably the contents of this Gospel, so pompously entitled, The Gospel of Truth. To be rejected therefore by Prop. IV. V. VI. VIII. and IX.

#### Nº. LXIX. *The Gospel of Valentinus.*

IT is only mentioned by Tertullian thus<sup>2</sup>:

Evangelium habet etiam suum Valentinus also has a Gospel of præter hæc nostra. his own, besides these of ours.

This book, entitled The Gospel of Valentinus, has been supposed by some learned men to have been no other than the Gospel of Truth, made use of and forged by the Valentinians, of which I treated in the last section. This is supposed by Dr. Grabe<sup>a</sup>, and after him by Mr. Fabritius<sup>b</sup>, because, as they imagine, *Valentinus himself did not write any Gospel.* This they gather from a passage of Tertullian<sup>c</sup>, which to me seems to imply no such thing. His words are: *Alius manu scripturas, alius sensu expositiones intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidior*

<sup>1</sup> Lib. 1. et 2. adv. Hæres.

<sup>2</sup> Strom. lib. 3.

<sup>3</sup> De Præscript. adv. Hæretic. c. 49. et lib. adv. Valentin.

<sup>4</sup> Contra Cels. lib. 2. p. 77. lib. 5. p. 271. especially l. 6. p. 298. et Expos. in Rom. l. 8, c. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Hæres. 31.

<sup>a</sup> De Præscript. adv. Hæret. cap. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 2. p. 48, 49.

<sup>c</sup> Fabrit. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. par. 1. p. 380.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. jam cit. c. 38.

*ingenio quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra non stylo usus est; quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit; quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed ad scripturas materiam excogitavit. i. e. "Some heretics corrupt the scripture with their hands, (viz. by adding and taking out;) others do it by perverse interpretations. For though Valentinus seems to make use of all the scriptures, he no less artfully than Marcion made his attacks upon the truth. For Marcion corrupted not only small portions of scripture, but made almost a total destruction, designing thereby to make the scriptures accommodate to his principles: but Valentinus spared them, because his design was not to accommodate the scriptures to his principles, but his principles to the scriptures."* In this passage it is plain that Tertullian says no more, than that *Valentinus did not corrupt the sacred volume as Marcion did*, by taking out those things which were disagreeable to his opinions; *he says not* (as these learned men imagine) *that Valentinus made no new Gospel*; nor is the supposition of his having made one in the least inconsistent with the design of this passage; which shews the weakness of Dr. Grabe's argument, *that the latter part of this book under the name of Tertullian is not his*, because the author says, Valentinus had a Gospel, and so contradicts this former part of it, where he says he had not one; Tertullian saying no such thing. But if there really were any contradiction in these two places of Tertullian, I should rather think *the mistake was in the former*, where he says, Valentinus did not corrupt the scriptures, than *in the latter*, where he says, Valentinus had a Gospel of his own; because I observe, that both Irenæus<sup>d</sup> and Origen<sup>e</sup> lay the former crime, viz. of corrupting the scriptures, to the charge of that heretic, though the latter, much more plainly than the former; for when Celsus objects that some Christians had changed the first scriptures three or four times, or more, &c. Origen answers, that this was not done by any persons except the disciples of Marcion, and Valentinus, and Lucianus. I conclude therefore, that Valentinus had a Gospel of his own, and that this was different from that called The Gos-

<sup>d</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 1.<sup>e</sup> Contr. Cels. l. 2. p. 77.

pel of Truth, made use of by his followers; because the one was used, and so probably forged by Valentinus, but the *other* more lately made by his followers; yet it is very probable they were both designed for the same purposes, and therefore both by the same reason to be esteemed apocryphal, by Prop. IV. V. VI. VIII. and IX.

AN  
APPENDIX;  
CONTAINING  
AN ACCOUNT  
OF ALL THE  
SAYINGS AND HISTORIES  
OF  
CHRIST,  
WHICH ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE WRITERS OF THE  
FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

*A Collection of the Discourses, Histories, &c. of Christ and his  
Apostles, which are to be found in the Alcoran of Mahomet.*

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ALTHOUGH I cannot but hope that I have in the foregoing part of this work sufficiently disproved the claim of any of the *lost books* under the name of Christ, his apostles, &c. *whose names are yet preserved*, to canonical authority; yet I judged it necessary to add the following Appendix: the design of which will be evident from what follows.

Besides the apocryphal gospels, *whose names are still extant*, and of which I have produced all the remaining fragments, it has been thought, and may seem probable, that there have been several others, *whose names are now quite lost*; because there are cited in the writings of the primitive fathers several *sayings and histories* of Christ and his apostles, *which are not to be found in any of our present Gospels*. Now, inasmuch as these are generally supposed to *be taken out of apocryphal gospels* by several learned men, such as Mr. Dodwell, Dr. Mill, Dr. Grabe, Mr. Fabritius, and others, as will appear in

the sequel of this discourse: what I propose here is, *to make as large a collection as I can* of all those *Accounts, Sayings, Histories, Doctrines, &c.* of Christ and his apostles, which are not in any of our present Gospels, *but either are, or may be supposed to have been taken out of some apocryphal books, and which are mentioned by any writer of the first four centuries after Christ*; and withal to make it appear, that *none of these accounts were taken out of apocryphal books*. And as in this laborious attempt I proposed the establishing the credit of our present canon, so also the entertainment of the curious in Christian antiquities. The reader learned in these things will easily observe, that there are many accounts of the apostles omitted in this collection, that are in the writings of the first four centuries; but I desire it may be considered, that these are purposely omitted here, because I take in none but such as may, or have been supposed to, have been in some apocryphal books; whereas these are generally traditions not written, and of which perhaps hereafter, in a more convenient place, I may make a full collection.

Two or three things I must premise to this work; viz.

I. That I do not propose to *transcribe the various lections of our Gospels, that are to be gathered out of the writings of the fathers, nor to make those pass for sayings of Christ, different from any in our Gospels, which are only the memoriter citations of the ancient writers*. To do this would be a work of endless trouble, and of very little advantage; and I cannot but think the labours of Dr. Mill, in his collections of this sort, were very triflingly employed, as Dr. Whitby<sup>f</sup> has sufficiently shewn. It is a matter past all doubt, that all the primitive writers cited the scripture *memoriter*, or by *memory*, without consulting their copies; which is not at all strange, if we consider the forms of their volumes, being large skins of parchment rolled up together, (as I have elsewhere shewn<sup>g</sup>;) and that their books were not divided into chapters and verses, as ours now are. Hence I say, they cited *memoriter* frequently, and consequently expressed rather *the sense and meaning*, than *the words* of the author they cite; (1.) Sometimes *quite changing his words, and substituting those of their own, which*

<sup>f</sup> Examen variant. Lektion. Mill. sect. 1.—6.    <sup>g</sup> Vindic. of Matthew, chap. xv.

*they thought equivalent ; (2.) Sometimes inserting their own glosses and explications, and what they imagined needful to make the sense of the sentence complete ; (3.) Sometimes leaving out what was not to their purpose ; and nothing more commonly, than (4.) joining several different texts of scripture together, and which are related by several evangelists, as though spoken by Christ at one time.* All this it were easy to demonstrate by a thousand instances ; and besides, the fact being so notorious, I shall here take it for granted : he who has a mind may see very many examples of all these, collected by the learned Heinsius<sup>h</sup> and Dr. Whitby, in the place cited.

II. I purpose not to *collect the differences of ancient manuscripts*, nor to lay down, as *sayings* or *histories* of Christ, any of those which are to be found in any manuscripts now extant, and not in our present Gospels, unless perhaps in one or two instances, where the difference will appear to have been in manuscripts before the end of the fourth century. This I propose not here, because it is a work rather belonging to the integrity of the text, than the establishment of the canon.

III. I premise it as very probable, that *many accounts and sayings of our Saviour were conveyed by tradition through the first and second centuries.* St. John tells us<sup>i</sup>, that our Saviour did many other things, which, *if they should be written every one, he supposes that even the world itself would not contain the books which should be written.* Some of these it is impossible, in the nature of things, but must be transmitted to the succeeding ages ; especially if we consider how remarkable our Saviour's *sayings* and actions were, and how much taken notice of. These Papias, Irenæus, and many others sought after ; and indeed we can hardly suppose any one of so little curiosity as not to desire the knowledge of them, and consequently of these it is very probable several are to be found in the most ancient monuments of Christianity.

These things premised, I come to consider the passages themselves, which are in the ancient writers, relating to Christ and his apostles ; and which not being to be found in any of our Gospels, are or may be suspected to be taken out of some others.

<sup>h</sup> Prolegom. in Exercit. Sacr. ad Nov. Test. p. 4, 5, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Joh. xxi. 25.

[N. B. I shall produce these passages *according to the order of time* in which the writers are supposed to have lived, who mention them.]

I. *A Saying of Christ mentioned by St. Paul, Acts xx. 35. not to be found in any of our Gospels.*

<p>Πάντα ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὕτω κοπιῶντας δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων, μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, Μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν.</p>	<p>I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring you ought to support the weak, and to re- member the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, <i>It is more blessed to give than to receive.</i></p>
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This saying of Christ has been supposed by some to be *taken out of some apocryphal gospel now lost*<sup>k</sup>; by others, to be taken out of a book entitled, *The Book of the Sayings of Christ*, which is cited in *The Recognitions of Clemens*<sup>l</sup>; and by *Turrianus*<sup>m</sup>, to be taken out of the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, for which opinion he also cites *Euthalius*, a bishop contemporary with *Athanasius*: but there is not the least evidence for the truth of either of these opinions, because had St. Paul really cited any book, he would, according to his custom, have given some intimation that he did so, either by *mentioning the author's name*, or *the title of the book*, &c. Besides, as to the first of these opinions, it has not the least appearance of truth; and as to the two latter, I shall think it enough at present to say, the books, from whence the passage is supposed to be cited, were made long after St. Paul's time. Neither of these conjectures being probable, several learned men, as *Beza*<sup>n</sup>, *Chemnitius*<sup>o</sup>, *Heinsius*<sup>p</sup>, &c. have thought that the apostle does not refer to any particular saying of Christ, but to *several of our Lord's sayings in the Gospels, which he intended to comprise or abridge in this*; such as that, *Matt. xix. 21.* that *Luke xvi. 9.* and the *parable of the talents, Matt. xxv.* But this opinion seems very improbable, because the apostle expressly refers to the very words of Christ, and says not only *λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*, but *αὐτὸς εἶπε*. That which seems

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Heins. Exercit. Sacr. in Act. xx. 35.

<sup>l</sup> Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 130. ad Voc. Verborum Dom. Lib.

<sup>m</sup> Præfat. in Constit. Apostol.

<sup>n</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>o</sup> Exam. Conc. Trid. par. 1. p. 40.

<sup>p</sup> Loc. jam cit.



therefore most likely is, *that Paul received this passage by tradition* from the apostles or disciples of Christ, with whom it is certain he frequently conversed, and from whom he received many accounts of fact; and perhaps it is not unlikely he was then told it, when he went up to Jerusalem from Antioch, with the charitable collections of the Christians there for the indigent brethren at Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30.

II. *A Saying in the Epistle of Barnabas, Chap. IV. ascribed to Christ.*

Sicut dicit Filius Dei, Resistamus omni iniquitati, et odio habemus eam.

As the Son of God saith, Let us resist all iniquity, and hate it.

III. *A Saying ascribed to Christ in the same Epistle, Chap. VII.*

Οὕτω, φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας, ὀφείλουσι θλιβέντες καὶ πολλὰ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

So they, saith Jesus, who would see me, and arrive to my kingdom, must receive me through the suffering of many troubles and afflictions.

The celebrated archbishop Usher<sup>1</sup> imagines it an evidence of the great antiquity of this Epistle under the name of Barnabas, that in it are cited several of the apocryphal books, the very names of which are now quite lost. Mr. Dodwell<sup>2</sup> asserts not only of Barnabas, but Clemens Romanus, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, the supposed writers of the first century, or apostolic age, that they promiscuously made use of our Gospels and other apocryphal books. Dr. Mill follows him exactly, and is somewhat more sanguine in his expressions<sup>3</sup>. "They, i. e. the apostolic fathers," says he, "cite and allege; without any difference, the apocryphal gospels and the inspired books of the apostles." One would imagine they had very clear proof for the support of these assertions, and that Barnabas, Clemens, Hermas, Polycarp, and the rest, had named, or at least referred to some such writings or books. But of this I dare aver, there is not one single instance in all those fathers

<sup>1</sup> See the remaining part of the preface to an edition of this Epistle, which he intended to have published, but was consumed at Oxford, with all his notes, only a few in the corrector's hand, by

the great fire there, 1643. See the preface to Dr. Fell's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Dissert. I. in Iren. §. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 144. &c.

to be found; and though some of them have some passages not in our Gospels, yet there is not any reason to conclude they were taken out of others, as I shall shew in the particular examination of them: and first as to those of Barnabas, which are now under consideration, only first observing that Mr. Fabricius<sup>t</sup> supposes also that both these passages were taken out of some apocryphal gospel. I shall consider each of them distinctly.

As to the first, it is evident it could not possibly be any *saying* of Christ, because *it is delivered in the plural number*, LET US resist all iniquity, and let us hate it. These, I say, could not be the words of Christ, because *his commands are never delivered in the plural number*, as relating to himself and to his apostles; besides, it is absurd in the nature of the thing for a person under the character of Christ to *command himself*, especially considering that he *was incapable of all sin*. If therefore they were not the words of Christ, it is plain they are no more than the author's explication of some words of his; and though he prefix the words, *Sic dicit Filius Dei*, "So says the Son of God;" it is plain that they cannot be taken in their literal sense, but must mean, *This is the command of Christ to us*, or *he has spoken to this purpose*, that we should avoid and hate all sin; or *it is the doctrine which he has delivered*<sup>u</sup>; and so indeed it is in many parts of our Gospels, and the main design of them all, and therefore was not taken out of any apocryphal book.

As to the latter passage, it was either *taken out of that passage of Paul and Barnabas*; Acts xiv. 22. where it is said they exhorted the churches *to continue in the faith*, and say, *we must all, through much tribulation, enter into the kingdom of heaven*: which are very near the same words with those of the supposed Barnabas under consideration, and so that is falsely ascribed to Christ, which was said by Paul and Barnabas; or else *the passage is an allusion to several places of our Lord's discourses*, in which he assures his followers, that, in order to become his true disciples, they must depend upon a variety of

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. par. 1. p. 330, 331.

<sup>u</sup> See instances of the like sort of

speech in Heins. Exercit. Sacr. in Act. xx. 35.

troubles and sufferings, as he does Matt. x. 18, 22. Luke xiv. 27. John xvi. 33. and in several other places; and this I suppose no one can think improbable, who considers how frequent these sort of citations are in the writings of the fathers, and particularly in this Epistle.

But if after all it should be thought these passages in the Epistle of Barnabas were taken out of some apocryphal gospel; I will add, that seeing it is no hard task to prove (as I hope fully in the next part of this work to do) that this Epistle was not the composure of Barnabas, but of some other person under his name, the credit of our canon cannot thereby be hurt; for the most that can follow from thence is, that the *apocryphal books have been cited by some heretical impostor of the second century.*

It will not be foreign to my purpose to insert here, that the author of this Epistle under the name of Barnabas saith, ch. v. that when Christ chose his apostles, he made choice of such ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομιωτέρους, *who were exceeding great sinners*: which, though it be not asserted in either of our Gospels, yet seems to be collected from thence, viz. where *Matthew is said to be a publican*, Matt. ix. 9, 10.; *Peter desires Christ to depart from him, because he was a sinful man*, Luke v. 8. and where he is related to *have denied Christ*, Matt. xxvi. 70. &c. Paul styles himself *a persecutor and blasphemer, and the chief of sinners*, 1 Tim. i. 13, 15. This is well observed by Origen against Celsus to have been the meaning of Barnabas in this place\*, though Jerome†, by mistake, ascribes this to Ignatius, and not to Barnabas.

#### IV. *A Saying ascribed to Christ in the second Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, Chap. IV.*

He is supposed to have been the same Clemens, who is mentioned by St. Paul as his fellow-labourer, Phil. iv. 3.

1. Διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἡμῶν πρᾶσσόντων εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· Ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου, καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν·

1. For this reason, that we might do these things, the Lord hath said, *Though ye should be joined to me even in my bosom, and do not observe my command-*

\* Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 1. p. 49.

† Lib. 3. adv. Pelag. c. 1.

Ἵπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς,  
πόθεν ἔστε, ἰργάται ἀνομίας.

ments, I will reject you, and say  
to you, Depart from me, I know  
not whence ye are, ye workers of  
iniquity.

V. *Another Saying ascribed to Christ and Peter, in the same Epistle, Chap. V.*

2. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος· Ἑσσε-  
σθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.  
Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος· Ἐὰν οὖν  
διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία;  
Εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ  
φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους  
μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς  
μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας  
ὑμᾶς, καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους  
ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ  
ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἔξουσίαν  
ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν  
εἰς γέενναν πυρός.

2. For the Lord saith, Ye shall  
be as lambs in the midst of wolves:  
but Peter replying, said, What if  
the wolves should tear in pieces  
the lambs? Jesus said unto Peter,  
Let not the lambs fear the wolves  
after death, and do not ye fear  
those who [can] kill you, and  
[afterwards] can do you no harm;  
but fear him who has power after  
your death to cast both soul and  
body into hell fire.

VI. *Another Saying ascribed to Christ, in the same Epistle, Chap. VIII.*

3. Λέγει γὰρ Κύριος ἐν τῷ  
Εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ  
ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώ-  
σει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς  
ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός  
ἐστιν.

3. For the Lord saith in the  
Gospel, Unless ye have kept that  
which is little, who will give you  
that which is great? For I say  
unto you, that he who is faithful  
in that which is least, is also faith-  
ful in that which is much.

VII. *Another Saying ascribed to Christ, in the end of the same Chapter.*

4. Ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει· Τη-  
ρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνήν, καὶ τὴν  
σφραγίδα ἁσπιλον, ἵνα τὴν ζωὴν  
αἰώνιον ἀπολάβητε.

4. This therefore is what [the  
Lord] saith, Keep your flesh  
chaste, and your seal (i. e. bap-  
tism) undefiled, that so ye may  
obtain everlasting life.

VIII. *Another Saying ascribed to Christ, in the end of that Epistle.*

5. Ἐπερωτηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος  
ὑπό τινος, Πότε ἔξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βα-

5. The Lord himself being  
asked by a certain person, when

σιλεία, εἶπεν· "Ὅταν ᾖσται τὰ δύο  
ἐν, καὶ τὸ ἕξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ  
ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν  
οὔτε θῆλυ.

his kingdom should come? re-  
plied, *When two shall be one, and  
that which is without as that which  
is within, and the male with the  
female neither male nor female.*

The consideration of these, or some of these passages, influenced Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Mill to assert as above, that Clemens and the other apostolical fathers promiscuously and indifferently made use of ours and other apocryphal gospels. "Clemens," says Dr. Mill<sup>z</sup>, "both in his former epistle to the Corinthians, and the fragment of his second epistle to them, (if it be his,) takes some testimonies out of those gospels which were in use among the Christians before the publishing of our present Gospels, and some, as it seems, out of ours, but in a mixed, confused manner," &c. But as in this *latter assertion* he and the learned writer, whom he follows, are most apparently mistaken, each of the apostolical fathers having plainly made use of our Gospels, (as I hope to shew hereafter,) so *also in the former*, as will appear by a particular criticism on the passages here produced, which must be those which he refers to, there being no other in the epistle that can be supposed to be taken out of apocryphal books. And whereas the doctor asserts, that Clemens in his former Epistle to the Corinthians cites apocryphal gospels, he is most notoriously mistaken; *there being not one passage in that whole Epistle that with any reason can be supposed, or I believe ever has been supposed, to have been alleged out of such books.*

But as to the passages in the second Epistle here produced, of which I have collected five:

The first, which is in Chap. IV. appears most plainly to be taken out of St. Luke's Gospel, ch. xiii. 25, 26, 27. The latter part of the passage is in almost the very same words, and perfectly the same sense, in ver. 27. and the former part is no less evidently a contraction of ver. 25, 26. and a very common way of citing in the writings of the fathers. There is no need therefore to suppose this taken out of any apocryphal gospel; and I cannot but observe, that Dr. Mill himself, in another part of his work, viz. in his note on this place of Luke, (for-

\* Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 139.

getful of what he says in his Prolegomena,) produces this passage out of Clemens, and supposes it to have been taken either out of the Gospel of the Nazarenes or Egyptians, and to have been taken into one of those Gospels out of this place of St. Luke, and by those who took it thence corrupted and interpolated. If we lay his thoughts together, they are these: Clemens Romanus took this passage out of some apocryphal gospel made before any of the present canonical ones: this Gospel was either that of the Nazarenes or Egyptians; for these were made before any of ours<sup>a</sup>; yet this very passage was taken out of St. Luke's Gospel, and inserted into one of these; i. e. in short, St. Luke's Gospel was made before the Gospel of the Egyptians and Nazarenes, and the Gospel of the Egyptians and Nazarenes was made before St. Luke's Gospel. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.*

The second passage, viz. that Chap. V. (as to the words of Christ) is related in the same words by St. Matthew, chap. x. 16, 26, 28. and St. Luke, chap. x. 3. and chap. xii. 4, 5. Wherefore we have no need to suppose Clemens to have taken it out of any apocryphal gospel: and though indeed there be an insertion in it of a question proposed by Peter to Christ, viz. *What if the wolves should tear in pieces the lambs?* to which our Lord is made to reply, *Fear not*, &c. this seems to have been a groundless tradition, (of which there were great numbers in that time,) because, by a little reflection on the series of our Lord's discourse, in the places now cited of Matthew and Luke, there will seem to have been no sign of an interruption in it, nor indeed well could be. The learned Cotelierius<sup>b</sup> therefore had no ground to suppose this taken by Clemens out of an apocryphal gospel.

The third of these passages is in part also cited by Irenæus thus<sup>c</sup>:

Et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum; Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis?

Wherefore the Lord said to those who were ungrateful to him, *If ye have not been faithful in that which is little, who will give you that which is great?*

<sup>a</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 35. 38.

<sup>b</sup> Annot. in loc.

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Hæres. lib. 2. c. 64.

Dr. Grabe, in his notes on this place, conjectures, *that Irenæus transcribed these words out of the Gospel of the Egyptians*; but this is a mere groundless conjecture. Dr. Mill<sup>d</sup> goes further, and supposes the passage to *have been originally in some apocryphal gospel, which was published before ours, and consequently that Clemens, who lived, according to him, before the settling of the canon, took it out of that*; but as to Irenæus, he supposes indeed he read it in his copy of Luke, chap. xvi. 10. &c. but *that it was not any part of St. Luke's writing, but an interpolation or insertion into the copies of that Gospel, taken out of some apocryphal one, which had this parable of the unjust steward more at large than it was related by Luke, and being from thence first inserted by some curious person into the margin of St. Luke, was afterwards, by some careless scribe, transferred into the text or body of the book.* But for all this bold conjecture there is not the least evidence produced. The case is plain; the latter part of the passage under consideration is in so many words in our present copies of St. Luke, chap. xvi. 10. and the whole meaning of the former part in the next verse. The words in Clemens are, "If ye have not kept that which is little, who will give you that which is great?" The words in Luke are, *If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?* i. e. as is very plain by the whole design of the parable, *If you have not been faithful, and made a due use of the lesser enjoyments of this life, who will intrust you, or how can you expect the greater things and enjoyments of the other?* There is no need therefore of supposing either any apocryphal gospel, or interpolated copy, out of which Clemens or Irenæus took these words. If there were, we may as well suppose the same in ten thousand instances at least, where the fathers have thus laxly made their citations out of the books of the Old and New Testaments. And whereas it may be objected, and perhaps be thought strange, that Clemens and Irenæus *should agree to paraphrase or express our Saviour's words so near the same*: I answer, that it was hardly probable they should have paraphrased them any other

<sup>d</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 374. \* See Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Le Clerc, &c.

way, because Christ himself gives the same explication of them, ver. 10. and so our best paraphrasts and expositors have done.

*As to the fourth passage*, although Dr. Grabe<sup>f</sup> and Mr. Fabritius<sup>g</sup> have imagined it to be a *distinct Saying of Christ*; and the latter says it was *taken out of an apocryphal gospel*, which he conjectures to be *the Gospel of the Egyptians*, it appears to me plainly to be *only the words of Clemens, or the author of the Epistle*, in explaining the preceding saying of Christ; as any one may perceive by the context; and accordingly was taken by the present archbishop of Canterbury in his English translation, though either his grace, or his printer, was very much mistaken, in putting the word *soul* for the Greek *σπαιδα*; which word, by the way, is a good evidence that this could not be any Saying of Christ, who never made use of this word to denote *baptism*, which even according to Mr. Fabritius in this place it does; and perhaps an evidence, that this Epistle under the name of Clemens was not written by him, or any other person of his time.

*The last passage* was indeed in the Gospel of the Egyptians; for Julius Cassianus urges it thence, as we read in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 3. p. 465. and accordingly I have produced it above in the second part of this work, Chap. XVI. where I have largely proved that Gospel to be apocryphal, and a very silly forgery; and for this reason we have sufficient ground to reject it, as not really one of our Saviour's, especially when we consider how unlike it is to the known style and manner of his speaking; for as I have elsewhere said, that was perfectly clear, easy, and familiar; this is mystical, involved, perplexed, if not absurd and obscene, more like the silly ambiguous answers of the Delphic oracles, than the rational and plain discourses of Jesus Christ. What remains here is only to inquire, whether this Gospel was cited in this Epistle under the name of Clemens, or this passage taken out of it? Which is not very evident, as I conclude,

1. From the manner in which the author introduces the passage, *Ἐπερωτηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὑπὸ τινος*, i. e. The Lord himself being asked by a *certain person*, &c. which words imply that he was utterly ignorant who the person was that asked

<sup>f</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. par. 1. p. 333.



our Saviour the question : but had he really cited or made use of this Gospel, he could not have been ignorant, seeing it was there expressly said, *that Salome was the person who asked the question* ; as is evident from the place just now cited in Clemens Alexandrinus.

2. The saying or passage itself *is such as can hardly be imagined to be cited or transcribed by a person of the worth and character of Clemens, St. Paul's companion* ; it is not likely that he should have any regard to a book so silly, impious, and ridiculous, as the Gospel of the Egyptians has been proved to be ; besides, if it was an imposture, he cannot be supposed to be ignorant of it : once more, as the passage itself is absurd and foolish, I conclude he would never have urged it as the words of Christ. If therefore this Epistle was really wrote by Clemens, I think it very evident, that this passage was interpolated, or perhaps rather added to the end of it ; for they are the last words of the Epistle, and an imperfect sentence, making, as the present archbishop of Canterbury says<sup>h</sup>, *an abrupt conclusion* : and this is the more probable, because the Epistle ends perfectly and justly at the close of the eleventh chapter. Nor are such corruptions uncommon in the writings of the fathers, of which Mr. Daillé has observed many instances<sup>i</sup> ; and among which those who contend for the genuine antiquity of the first Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians are willing to reckon that part of it<sup>k</sup>, where Danaë and Dirce, *two noted names among the ancient heathen poets, are introduced among the Christian sufferers*.

3. Upon the whole, I look upon this Epistle *not to be the writing of Clemens, but some one after his time* ; and accordingly we find it rejected as spurious by Eusebius<sup>l</sup>, Jerome<sup>m</sup>, Photius<sup>n</sup>, and others, of which I shall treat more largely hereafter. So that if really any apocryphal gospel was cited in it, it will be no way detrimental to the credit of our present canon.

I only add, that even the passage itself now under consideration, if it really was taken out of the Gospel of the Egyptians,

<sup>h</sup> Preliminary discourse to his Translation of the Apostolic Fathers, p. 129.

<sup>i</sup> See his right use of the fathers.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 38.

<sup>m</sup> Catalog. Vir. illustr. in Clem.

<sup>n</sup> Biblioth. Cod. 126.

by the author of the Epistle, seems no mean argument to prove the Epistle itself not to be written by Clemens; for as it is unlikely that Clemens should cite so silly a book as this Gospel was, so much more so that he should cite this passage, the apparent design of which, and indeed, as far as we know, of the whole Gospel, (as has been above shewn, Chap. XVI. of this Part,) is to celebrate perpetual virginity, and the unlawfulness of marriage; a doctrine which, however caressed by the pretended successors of Clemens in the chair of Rome, I believe, was never contended for by the true Clement, who was the companion of St. Paul, but a notion espoused by the heretics, against which St. Paul himself more than once has wrote. See 1 Tim. iv. 3. and Coloss. ii. 21.

Besides Barnabas and Clemens Romanus, Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Mill assert, (as above,) that Ignatius, Hermas, and Polycarp, have *made use of the apocryphal gospels in common with those now received*; but in these instances they are more egregiously mistaken than in the former; for as to Hermas and Polycarp, I do affirm, there is not in their writings one passage different from our present Gospels; nor have either of these writers, or any other (that I know) produced so much as one example; and as to Ignatius, though there be indeed in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, c. 3. a *Saying* ascribed to Christ, which is supposed by Jerome and many later writers to be taken out of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, (which I have above produced, Chap. XXVII. of this Part,) yet I have there proved the contrary, and that the passage was not taken out of any apocryphal gospel, but out of that of St. Luke xxiv. 39.

IX. *A History of a woman accused before our Saviour of many crimes, which was expounded by Papias. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 39.*

THIS Papias was, as I have above shewn, a disciple of St. John, and an acquaintance of Polycarp. See Chap. XXVII. of this Part.

What this history was, we are not now certain. That which makes it considerable here is, that Eusebius says, *it was in the Gospel of the Nazarenes*, though (as I have largely proved in the place of this work last cited) Papias did not take it thence;

to which I here add, that it has been thought by several learned men, that it is no other than the *history of the adulterous woman, which is in St. John's Gospel*, chap. viii. 1. &c. So Erasmus<sup>o</sup>, Sixtus Senensis<sup>p</sup>, Beza<sup>q</sup>, Grotius<sup>r</sup>, father Simon<sup>s</sup>, Dr. Hammond<sup>t</sup>, and many others; and indeed the opinion is so probable, that I have not met with any thing that is urged against it, except that the woman mentioned by Papias was accused before our Saviour *of many crimes*, (ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης,) but the woman mentioned by St. John is *only accused of adultery*. This is urged by Baronius<sup>u</sup> and Dr. Whitby<sup>x</sup>; the latter of whom, for this reason, supposes, that Papias *speaks of the woman of Samaria*; "who," saith he, "was accused of many such sins." But to this it is easy to answer: either,

1. That the evangelists do not *always relate all the circumstances of a story*, as is well known; and so perhaps the woman might be accused of some other crimes, which St. John has not mentioned: or,

2. *Adultery being a complicated crime, which included several others*, might be very justly thus expressed by Papias in his Commentaries: or;

3. Perhaps it may not be an unjust translation, if we render *πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις* *great sins*, rather than *many sins*; and in this sense the words might be very justly used for the crime of adultery; and that the word *πολὺς* is thus often used to denote *magnitude* as well as *multitude*, I dare affirm, and am able to prove by many instances. However,

4. Nothing can be more extravagant than Dr. Whitby's conjecture, that *the woman spoken of by Papias and that of Samaria were the same*; "because," says he, "they were both 'accused of many crimes;'" for it does not appear that the woman of Samaria was ever accused before Christ of any crimes at all. See the history, John iv.

Upon the whole, I conclude, that the same history which was written by John was expounded by Papias; whence there

<sup>o</sup> Annot. in Joh. viii. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 7. p. 599.

<sup>q</sup> Annot. in Joh. vii. 53.

<sup>r</sup> Annot. in Loc.

<sup>s</sup> Critic. Histor. of the New Test.

par. 1. c. 7. p. 67. and 71.

<sup>t</sup> Annot. in Joh. vii. 53.

<sup>u</sup> Annal. ad Anu. Chr. 99. N. 9. apud Simon. loc. cit.

<sup>x</sup> Annot. in Joh. viii. 9.

is further evidence of that which I have above proved, (Chap. XXVII.) that Papias did not use the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

Whether this history of the adulterous woman, in the eighth chapter of St. John, be a *genuine part of his writing, or an interpolation out of the Gospel of the Nazarenes*, I shall not take upon me here to inquire; that question belonging rather to the text than the canon of the New Testament. It is certain that it is wanting in the Syriac version, and most ancient manuscripts; of which see above, Chap. XVII. and Dr. Mill's notes on the place. He who has a mind to read more on this may consult Erasmus, Grotius, Beza, Simon, Hammond, Whitby, and especially Dr. Mill, in the places above cited.

X. *A Discourse ascribed to Christ by Papias, and some others, who conversed with St. John the apostle, preserved in Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. 5. cap. 33.*

Prædicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt justi surgentes a mortuis: quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universæ escæ, ex rore cœli et ex fertilitate terræ: quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Joannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus, et dicebat: Venient dies, in quibus vineæ nascentur, singulæ decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botrum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit viginti quinque metretas vini. Et cum eorum apprehenderit ali-

The aforementioned blessing (viz. the blessing of Isaac on his son Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 27, 28.) undoubtedly relates to the times of that kingdom, in which the righteous shall reign after their resurrection from the dead; when the creature being made new, and delivered from bondage, (see Rom. viii. 21. &c.) shall produce prodigious quantities of all sorts of food, through the dews of heaven and the fruitfulness of the earth. Agreeable to which the elders, who saw John the disciple of our Lord, have related, that they heard him declare what the Lord said concerning those times, viz. That he said [the following words], *The days will come, in which there will spring up vines, each of which shall have ten thousand branches, and every one of these branches shall have ten thousand lesser*

quis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume; per me Dominum benedic. Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similæ claræ mundæ; et reliqua autem poma et semina, et herbam secundum congruentiam iis consequentem: et omnia animalia iis cibis utentia quæ a terra accipiuntur, pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subjecta hominibus cum omni subiectione.

every grain shall yield ten pound of neat meal, and in a like proportion to these shall be the product of apples and seeds, and herbs according to their kinds, and also all animals, who feed upon these foods, which are the produce of the earth, shall be peaceable, agreeing with each other, and in a most perfect subjection to men.

These things, says Irenæus<sup>z</sup>, are related by Papias, a hearer of John, and acquaintance of Polycarp, in the fourth book of his work.

XI. *Another History and Saying of Christ, in the same place of the same author.*

Et adiecit dicens, Hæc autem credibilia sunt credentibus. Et Juda, inquit, proditore non credente, et interrogante; *Quomodo ergo tales genituræ a Domino perficientur?* dixisse Dominum, *Videbunt qui venient in illa.*

branches, and every one of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs, and every one of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes, and every cluster of grapes shall have ten thousand grapes, and every grape, when it is pressed, shall yield five and twenty measures<sup>y</sup> of wine; and when any of the saints shall lay hold upon one of these clusters, another shall cry out, *I am a better cluster than thee, take me, and by me bless the Lord*; in like manner, one grain of wheat shall bring forth ten thousand ears, and every ear shall have ten thousand grains, and

every grain shall yield ten pound of neat meal, and in a like proportion to these shall be the product of apples and seeds, and herbs according to their kinds, and also all animals, who feed upon these foods, which are the produce of the earth, shall be peaceable, agreeing with each other, and in a most perfect subjection to men.

And he farther adds, (viz. Papias), saying; But Judas, says he, who betrayed him, did not believe these things, but inquired, *How the Lord could bring about such an increase?* The Lord replied, *They who arrive to that state (or come to that kingdom) shall see.*

These two passages seem indeed probably enough to have been in some ancient apocryphal gospel, were it not that Ire-

<sup>y</sup> The word *metretas* is used John ii. 6. and contained at least 180 gallons of wine. See Godwin's *Moses* and

Aaron.

<sup>z</sup> Loc. jam cit.

næus intimates they were received by tradition; and Papias dealt much in such stories, as Eusebius informs us<sup>a</sup>. I suppose I need be at no pains to prove that these were not the words of Christ; and I cannot but wonder Dr. Grabe should make any difficulty of disbelieving the tradition<sup>b</sup>. I will only make two or three brief remarks on this head.

First, *That the doctrine of the Millennium, or Christ's personal reign on earth, seems to owe its original to Papias*. So Eusebius expressly says<sup>c</sup>; and perhaps on this account we meet with the title of *Papianistæ* among the heretics in Justinian's Code, lib. 1. tit. 5. leg. 5.

Secondly, *The generality of the ancient Christians fell into this opinion*. So Eusebius expressly saith<sup>d</sup>.

Thirdly, *Papias seems to have borrowed it from the Jews*; for it is well known, and even from the Gospels, that they had the expectations of a temporal kingdom from the Messias; and their oldest writings assure us, they expected such things in it, as Papias and his followers did. See Galatin. Arcan. Cathol. Verit. l. 10. c. 4.

Fourthly, It seems very probable, that as Papias was the author of this doctrine, so *of this passage ascribed to Christ*, and calculated to support it<sup>e</sup>.

## XII. A Saying ascribed to Christ by Justin Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 267.

<p>Δὶδ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν, Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς κα- ταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρίνω.</p>	<p>Wherefore our Lord Jesus Christ hath said: <i>In whatsoever</i> [actions] <i>I shall find you, by them also I will</i> <i>judge you.</i></p>
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This is a very noted passage, and has been not only cited in several of the ancient books, but taken notice of by several of the moderns, insomuch that for this reason Justin is reputed to have made use of the apocryphal books. "Every body knows," says Casaubon<sup>f</sup>, "that Justin Martyr and the other fathers have frequently appealed to apocryphal books;" but I know not one instance which has been assigned for the proof

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 2. p. 231.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> See Dr. Whitby's Treatise of the Millennium.

<sup>f</sup> Exercit. adv. Baron. Annal. p. 54.

of this, besides the passage which we are now upon. It requires therefore consideration, and the more, because Justin, being one of the first Christian writers whose works are extant, his rejecting all other books besides those now received is a mighty confirmation of our present canon. But I come to the passage, and to inquire what has been said of it.

1. Langus (Justin's Latin translator) proposes two conjectures concerning this passage, viz. either *that it is a citation of some words of Christ which are in John v. Luke xii. and xix.* and more regard had to the sense and meaning of those places than the words; or else, *that it was taken out of some apocryphal books.*

The last of these conjectures I shall presently examine largely. As to the first, viz. that the *passage is an allusion to some words of Christ*; I observe, that though perhaps it may not exactly be the case, yet it is not very absurd; indeed I know not certainly what places in the evangelists Langus refers to, because he only cites the chapters at large, and not the verses; but I suppose he meant those, John v. 27—30. and those in Luke xix. 11—27. in which places there is a plain declaration that Christ, who is constituted judge, would be no respecter of persons, but deal to every man according to his works. And this is the undoubted meaning of the Saying in Justin. I say therefore, this conjecture is not very absurd, because the fathers usually cite thus compendiously. But there seems to be this against it, that the passage is in the same words in many of the fathers; and it is hardly probable that they should paraphrase the same way.

2. Dr. Cave<sup>h</sup> supposes it *taken out of the apocryphal Gospel of the Nazarenes.*

3. Dr. Grabe is of *the same opinion*<sup>i</sup>.

4. Dr. Fell, in his notes on the same Saying of Christ, which is in §. 40. of the little book of Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled, *Quis Dives Salvetur*, says, *Clemens took it out of some apocryphal gospel.*

But against this opinion I argue,

I. That *Justin does not in any other part of his writings*

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Sylburg. Annot. in Loc. Justin.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Liter. in Matth. p. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 327.

*cite or take any thing out of any apocryphal book ; and therefore it is surprising he should do it here.* He cites our present canon, and particularly our four Gospels, continually ; I dare say, above 200 times ; and is it likely he should appeal to an apocryphal gospel in this one place, and especially when he might have found that which was equally to his purpose in ours ? I leave the reader, who is unprejudiced, to judge.

II. It is probable *Justin Martyr took this passage out of the prophecy of Ezechiel, and that he did not himself prefix to it the words, 'Ο ἡμέτερος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός εἶπεν, i. e. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, but only Κύριος εἶπεν, The Lord hath said ; and that some scribe, ignorantly imagining these to be the words of Christ, inserted in his copy the words ἡμέτερος and Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.*

First, For the proof of this, *I appeal to the context, or series of Justin's discourse.* In which a question is debated between Justin and Trypho, whether the Ebionites, or such who professed faith in Christ, and obedience to the ceremonial law, could be saved. Justin declares he thought they might, if they did not endeavour to pervert the Gentiles to their opinion, but that those of the Jews who denied Christ, though they lived according to the Mosaic law, could not be saved without repentance in this life ; for, says he, the goodness of God is such, that he will accept those who are truly penitent, as he declares by Ezechiel, but reject those who persist in their wickedness. Then follows the passage we are about, *Wherefore the Lord saith ;* which also follows in Ezechiel in that place which Justin refers to ; see Ezech. xviii. 26—30. And indeed it is remarkable, that this 30th verse is now in the Septuagint version more like the words of this passage than any of the preceding are to what Justin cites, as will appear by comparing them (*Ἐκαστον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ κρινῶ ὑμᾶς, λέγει Κύριος*). Nor would it be at all strange, if there were a much greater difference, considering how unlike the present copies of the Greek version are to those in Justin's time, and particularly to Justin's own copy of that translation ; which every one who has read Justin cannot but observe with surprise ; and those who have not may see in Vaillant's Dissertation concerning the places in the New Testament cited out of the Old, and Arch-



bishop Usher's Syntagm. de Septuagint. Interp. c. 4. p. 42. &c. But,

Secondly, That which seems to put the matter past all doubt is, that Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>k</sup> citing the same passage, *expressly cites it as the words of God the Father, and not of Christ*, having just before also quoted the preceding verses in Ezechiel. This Dr. Grabe has also observed, which makes it somewhat unaccountable that he should in the very same paragraph suppose it taken out of the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

Thirdly, Considering the series of Justin's discourse, *it would have been very absurd for him to have cited a saying of Christ to stop the mouth of Trypho, who was a Jew*, and therefore would yield no regard to it, especially when he had several passages in the books of the Old Testament, which his adversary owned, to have produced, which were as much to his purpose, and really more particularly expressed his mind, than any words in the New.

### XIII. A History of Christ's Baptism, related by Justin Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 315.

Καὶ τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν, ἔθα ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτιζε, κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πῦρ ἀνῆψθῃ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ. Καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτήναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.

And when Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, as Jesus was descending into the water, a fire was kindled in Jordan. And when he came out of the water, the apostles of this our Christ have wrote, *that the Holy Ghost did alight upon him as (or in the form of) a dove.*

That which is peculiar in this relation, and not in our Gospels, is, *that a fire is said to be kindled in Jordan, when Christ was going down into the river to be baptized*; and something of the same nature we find there was in the Gospel of the Ebionites or Nazarenes, viz. that at Christ's baptism after the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the voice from heaven, *a great light shone around the place*. (See the passage at large out of Epiphanius, in the foregoing Part, Chap. XXV. N°. 11.) On this account some learned men have imagined this history to

<sup>k</sup> In Lib. Quis Dives Salvetur, §. 40.

have been taken by Justin Martyr out of this apocryphal Gospel. Thus thought a certain learned friend of Mr. Dodwell<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Mill<sup>m</sup>; but herein they are most evidently mistaken, because Justin's account and that in the Ebionite Gospel do so very much disagree in circumstances. Justin relates, *that as Christ was descending into the river, the fire was kindled, and then after that was the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the voice from heaven*: on the contrary, this Gospel saith, *that the light was not till after Christ had ascended out of the water, and the Spirit had descended, and the voice came down from heaven*. Besides, if we look carefully into the passages, we shall easily perceive they are different, not only because of the disagreement, as has been said, in point of time, which there is between them, but because the subjects are quite different. The one speaks of *a fire kindled in the river*; the other of *a great light encircling or shining around all the place*; which are two things so different, that I suppose, if this had been observed, no one would have imagined that Justin took his account out of the Ebionite Gospel. But further, he who will be at the pains to consider *what opinion Justin had of the Ebionites, and their scheme*<sup>n</sup>, will hardly persuade himself that father made use of their idle and silly apocryphal books. Nor is there any thing that I have seen to be urged on the other side, besides what Dr. Mill gathers from the words *ἡ γὰρ πάντων ἀπόστολοι*, i. e. *the apostles* (speaking of several of them) *wrote this*, that Justin referred to *the Gospel of the twelve apostles*, which was the same with that of the Ebionites or Nazarenes. But it is easy to answer, that these words, *the apostles wrote*, respect only the latter part of the sense, viz. the Holy Ghost's alighting upon Christ in the form of a dove, and not the former, because the verb *ἐπιπτῆναι* is in *the infinitive mood*, but the other verbs are in the third person; and for this reason Dr. Grabe<sup>o</sup>, from whom Dr. Mill borrowed this argument, rejects it, as not sufficient to prove the point. That therefore which seems most probable upon the whole is, that this circumstance at our Saviour's baptism was related by Jus-

<sup>1</sup> Dissert. in Iren. 2. §. 9.

<sup>m</sup> Annot. in Matt. iii. 16. and Prolegom. §. 269. and 766.

<sup>n</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 265.

&c.

<sup>o</sup> Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 19, 20.

tin only as what he had received by tradition; and if I mistake not, this *was founded upon that passage in three of our evangelists*, viz. that the *heavens were opened*; by which I know not what else can be understood besides some lucid phenomenon in the air. *Il semble que les nuages s'écarterent tout d'un coup, et qu'une flamme descendit de l'entre-deux. Au moins les hommes ne peuvent pas voir une autre ouverture du ciel, et l'on disoit communément, que le ciel s'ouvroit, lors que cela arrivoit?* "It is probable that the clouds divided suddenly, and that a flame of fire descended from between them. "Otherwise men could not possibly see any opening of the "heaven; besides, we commonly say, the heavens are opened, "when there is such a phenomenon in them." Hence it might easily pass into a common opinion, that there was a fire at our Saviour's baptism; which, with the addition of one circumstance, is the same as Justin says.

It is necessary here to add, that this same history was also in the apocryphal book, entitled, *The Preaching of Paul and Peter*, in the passage above produced, Chap. XXX. N°. 7. and seems to be referred to in the Latin poem of Juvenus upon the Gospels thus;

Hæc memorans vitreas penetrabat fluminis undas,  
Surgenti manifesta Dei præsentia claret.

And Dr. Mill informs us also, that it is to be found in a very ancient manuscript at Paris.

XIV. *A History of Christ, in his younger years, in Justin Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 316.*

Καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ νομιζομένου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ αἰδοῦς, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐκήρυσσον, φαινομένου, καὶ τέκτονος νομιζομένου ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὄν, ἀροτρα καὶ ζυγὰ, διὰ τούτων καὶ

And when Jesus came to Jordan, and was reputed the son of Joseph the carpenter, and making a mean figure, (either in respect of his person or garb,) as the scriptures have foretold, (see Isa. liii. 1.) and himself was esteemed a carpenter, *for he worked, when he was here on earth, at the carpen-*

τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδά-  
σκων, καὶ ἐνεργῇ βίον.

ter's trade, making ploughs and  
yokes [for oxen, &c.]; thus mak-  
ing a pattern of righteousness,  
and a laborious life.

There is at this day extant a *Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour*, (of which more hereafter,) in which we read of the actions and miracles of Christ, during the interval of his minority, and particularly of his working with his father in the carpenter's trade. Accordingly, Chap. XXXVIII. we read, that *Joseph took him along with him, to all the places where he was sent for to do business, to make gates and milk-pails, and sieves, and trunks; and that when Joseph intended to make any thing longer or shorter, wider or narrower, as soon as Christ put his hand to the work, it was instantly done, according to Joseph's intention, so that he had indeed but little occasion to work, not being very dexterous at his trade.* It may perhaps be thought, Justin took what he says out of some such apocryphal books; but inasmuch as this book was a forgery long after Justin's time, and it does not appear there was any such book in his time, it is much more probable, either that he relates only what he had received by tradition, or else that what he here saith was his gloss upon those words of Mark, chap. vi. 3. in which Christ is called by his own townsmen *ὁ τέκτων, the carpenter*. Origen indeed asserts<sup>9</sup>, that it is no where to be read in the Gospels received by the churches, that Christ was a carpenter; which he never would so positively have asserted against Celsus, bantering our Saviour because he was a carpenter by trade, unless he was well assured of the fact. It is probable therefore Christ was not called *τέκτων, the carpenter*, in any copies of St. Mark which Origen had seen; and accordingly, I observe, first, that in the parallel place in St. Matthew, chap. xiii. 55. he is not called *τέκτων*, but *τέκτονος υἱός*, not *the carpenter*, but *the carpenter's son*. Secondly, That many ancient manuscripts in this place of Mark, instead of *τέκτων*, read *ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός*, viz. *the carpenter's son*. It is not to my present purpose to make any inquiries into the life of Christ before his public ministry; it is generally thought,

<sup>9</sup> Οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φερομένων Εὐαγγελίων τέκτων αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναγίγνεται. Contr. Cels. l. 6. p. 299.

as Justin says, *that he followed his father's trade of carpentry*. So Erasmus<sup>r</sup>, Estius<sup>s</sup>, Chemnitius<sup>t</sup>, Grotius<sup>u</sup>, Lightfoot<sup>x</sup>, Dr. Cave<sup>y</sup>, and many others.

Thus much concerning Justin Martyr, till whose time there is the greatest reason to conclude the sacred text of the New Testament continued very pure and incorrupt; soon after the heretics of those times made many and large interpolations and additions to it; such as Marcion, Valentinus, and others, whereby they frequently make both Christ and his apostles to speak what they judged most agreeable to their own sentiments. It would be endless to collect all these, nor would it be of any service in settling the canon, and indeed but little in settling the true reading of the text; Irenæus and Tertulian have mentioned several of them; Epiphanius has made a large collection of Marcion's alterations in the Gospel of Luke, and St. Paul's Epistles. I shall think it sufficient to produce the following remarkable instance of an addition to the gospel history made by the Gnostics in the second century, and perhaps afterwards inserted in some apocryphal gospel. The instance I mean is that out of Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. 1. c. 17. Speaking of the Gnostics, and their spurious scriptures, he adds,

Προσπαράλαμβάνουσι δὲ εἰς τοῦτο  
κάκεινο τὸ ραδιούργημα, ὡς τοῦ  
Κυρίου τὰ διὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐ-  
τῶ φήσαντος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστίν,  
Εἰπὲ ἄλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἄλφα·  
πάλιν τε τὸ βῆτα διδασκάλου κε-  
λεύσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν  
Κύριον· Σὺ μοι πρότερον εἰπὲ τί  
ἐστι τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοὶ ἐρῶ τί  
ἐστι τὸ βῆτα. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγοῦν-  
ται ὡς αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἄγνωστον

They have also forged this false story, that our Lord (when he was a child, and learning his alphabet<sup>z</sup>) of his schoolmaster, when he said to him, as is usual, *Say A*; Christ answered *A*; again, when the master bid him say *B*, the Lord said to him, *Do you first tell me what A is, and then I will tell you what B is*. And this they so expound, as if he

<sup>r</sup> Annot. in Matt. xiii. 55. et Mar. vi. 3.

<sup>s</sup> In Difficil. Loc. Script. ad Mar. vi. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Harmon. Evangel. vol. 3. p. 587.

<sup>u</sup> Annot. in Matt. xiii. 55.

<sup>x</sup> Harmon. of the New Test. §. 8. in

fine.

<sup>y</sup> Histor. Literar. in Christ.

<sup>z</sup> This parenthesis I have added out of the old Latin translation; the Greek is preserved in Epiphanius, Hæres. 34. §. 18.

ἐπισταμένου, ὃ ἐφάνηρσεν ἐν τῷ ἄλφᾳ. alone understood the mystery which he revealed in the letter A.

This passage is in The Gospel of the Infancy, published by Cotelierius in Greek, chap. 6. and in that translated out of Arabic into Latin by Mr. Sike, chap. 48. though with some variations and additions in both, especially the last; where it is said, *that upon Christ's refusing to say the letter B, his master threatening him with the rod, he run through all the alphabet, told his master the meaning of the letters, &c. which he admired, and said he believed he was born before Noah.*

XV. *A Saying of Christ, in Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. 1. c. 17.*

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι, πολ-  
λάκις ἐπεθύμησα ἀκοῦσαι ἓνα τῶν  
λόγων τούτων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν  
ἐροῦντα, ἐμφαίνοντός φασιν εἶναι  
διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς τὸν ἀληθῶς ἓνα Θεόν,  
ὃν οὐκ ἐγνώκεισαν.

But that which [Christ] has said,  
*I have often desired to hear one of*  
*those sayings, but have found no*  
*one who could tell me, they (viz.*  
*the Gnostics) interpret concern-*  
*ing him who is the only true God,*  
*whom they have not known.*

Dr. Mill<sup>a</sup> thinks this passage to have been in one of the Gospels of the Valentinians or Gnostics; but I fear he is herein much mistaken; for though Irenæus had mentioned their apocryphal books in the beginning of the chapter, yet he had left that subject, and was giving instances of their *absurd interpretations of the true Gospels*; and this he assigns as one; so that I am apt to think these words were in Irenæus's copy of one of the four Gospels, because it is certain he acknowledged no other<sup>b</sup>.

XVI. *A History of the age of Christ, in Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. 2. cap. 39.*

Quia autem triginta annorum ætas  
primæ indolis est juvenis, et ex-  
tenditur usque ad quadragesimum  
annum, omnis quilibet confite-  
bitur; a quadragesimo autem et  
quinquagesimo anno declinat jam  
in ætatem seniores; quam habens

Forasmuch as a young man first  
arrives to a perfect maturity at  
his thirtieth year, and continues  
therein till the fortieth, as every  
one must acknowledge, and that  
from his fortieth or fiftieth year  
he begins to decline towards old

<sup>a</sup> Prolegom. §. 331.

<sup>b</sup> Advers. Hæres. l. 3. c. 11.

*Dominus noster docebat, sicut Evangelium et omnes seniores testantur, qui in Asia apud Joannem discipulum Domini convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse iis Joannem.* Permansit autem cum eis usque ad Trajani tempora. Quidam autem eorum non solum Joannem, sed et alios apostolos vident, et hæc eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de hujusmodi relatione.

age, to which age our Lord having arrived did teach, as the Gospel and all the elders do testify, who attended upon John, the disciple of our Lord, in Asia; [affirming] that John himself gave them this account. Now he continued with them till the time of Trajan, and some of them did not only see John, but also other apostles, and received the same account from them, and they affirm this same tradition to be true.

This is indeed somewhat surprising, viz. that Irenæus should so expressly assert, that *Christ lived and taught beyond his fortieth, if not till his fiftieth year*; whereas it is a thing most notorious, that Christ was crucified between his thirty-third and thirty-fourth year. His arguments to prove it are as extraordinary as his assertion, viz. *That since he came into the world to save persons of all ages, viz. infants, little ones, boys, young men, and old men, it was necessary he should pass through all these degrees of age.* But if this will prove any thing, it must prove Christ to have lived much longer than Irenæus contends for, and not only to the age of fifty, but even to the age of the antediluvian patriarchs; and even, for the same reason, to the age of Methusalem himself. It is strange indeed he should so positively urge the testimony of St. John for this notorious falsehood, and say that he delivered it to the presbyters of Asia; for this cannot be supposed true, without supposing also at the same time, that our accounts in all the Gospels are false. Indeed, the next argument, which he uses in the beginning of the next chapter, is somewhat more plausible, viz. from those words of the Jews to our Saviour, John viii. 57. *Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?* Whence, says he, it appears, *that he was near fifty, they gathering this either from the rolls of the tax, (in which every one's name and age were written,) or from his*

*countenance.* But neither is this argument of any force, because if we suppose Christ to have been, as he really was, no more than thirty-three, the Jews might very well be supposed to ask their question thus, viz. either,

1. Because our Saviour, being a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, and having gone through infinite fatigues and labours <sup>c</sup>, *might very probably be thought eight or ten years older than he really was*; which is all that need be supposed to make the Jews' question just and pertinent, and is a very common thing: or, which seems to me to have been the case,

2. Nothing is more common in such cases, *than for persons to express themselves by a round number*, not confining themselves when the subject is such as does not restrain them to any exact particular number <sup>d</sup>.

Irenæus therefore is certainly mistaken in this matter, although he plead apostolical tradition for the support of his notion; and it seems plain that he was drawn into the mistake by a too warm opposition to the Gnosticks, who asserted, that *Christ did not live to the end of his thirtieth year, but was crucified in the twelfth month of his ministry* <sup>e</sup>. And here by the way I cannot but observe, that several of the most celebrated fathers have coincided with the Gnosticks in this opinion, and asserted that *Christ preached but one year, and suffered in the end of his thirtieth*. Thus Tertullian <sup>f</sup>, Clemens Alexandrinus <sup>g</sup>, Lactantius <sup>h</sup>, in the places cited in the margin.

But to return to Irenæus, however absurd the preceding history is, it cannot be supposed with any reason, that it was in any of the apocryphal gospels, unless we were to suppose with the great annalist cardinal Baronius <sup>i</sup>, that this *passage was foisted into the works of Irenæus*; but for this there is not the least evidence, as the learned Jesuit Petavius has well demonstrated in his notes on Epiphanius <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Isaiah liii. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Grot. ad loc.

<sup>e</sup> See lib. 1. cap. 1. and lib. 2. cap. 36—38. of Irenæus.

<sup>f</sup> Adv. Judæos, c. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Strom. l. 1. p. 340.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. 4. c. 10.

<sup>i</sup> Annal. t. 1. An. 34. n. 137. apud Daillé, of the right use of the Fathers, b. 2. c. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Hæres. 51. Alog. in Diatrib. 2. de anno et die Dom. Pass. p. 145, 146.



XVII. A Saying ascribed to Christ in Athenagoras, *Legat. pro Christianis*, c. 28.

Πάλιν ἡμῖν λέγοντος τοῦ Λόγου, Ἄgain, the Word saith unto us,  
 'Εάν τις διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ δευτέρου κα- If any one shall kiss a woman a  
 ταφίλῃσῃ, ὅτι ἤρρεσεν αὐτῷ. second time, because it pleases  
 him, &c.

It is not very easy to determine any thing certain concerning this passage. Pfaffius<sup>1</sup> supposes it to have been in some apocryphal gospel, and an addition to those words of Christ, Matt. v. 28. and so makes the following words to be a continuation of it, viz.

Καὶ ἐπιφέροντος, οὕτως οὖν ἀκρι- And intimates, that we ought to  
 βώσασθαι τὸ φίλημα, μᾶλλον δὲ be so discreet in kissing, that it  
 τὸ προσκύνημα δεῖ, ὥς εἴ που μι- may rather be a civil salutation,  
 κρὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παραβολαθεῖν, ἕξω because if we defile our minds with  
 ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰωνίου τιθέντος ζωῆς. an unchaste thought, we shall not  
 attain eternal life.

It is evident these last words cannot be the words of our Saviour, because they are delivered in the plural number, we shall not *attain eternal life*, which is unlike enough to any thing that ever Christ said. Besides, if the words be closely considered, it will appear that the latter part is an explication of, or inference from, the former, the one being delivered in the third person, the other in the first; if therefore either part be to be esteemed as the words of Christ, it can only be the former; although indeed it may be justly questioned, whether Athenagoras intended any such citation, because when he cites any thing of Christ, he prefixes *φησὶ* to it, i. e. [The Lord] *saith*, as he does twice in this same paragraph. Conradus Gesnerus, the translator of Athenagoras, seems to have thought the same when he translates the words, Πάλιν ἡμῖν λέγοντος τοῦ λόγου, &c. *Rursus quum religio nostra nos doceat*, adding, *Sicut vir quidam sanctus scripsit, si quis*, &c. "Again our religion teacheth us, as a certain holy man hath wrote, that "if any one," &c. But perhaps Athenagoras might have some such words in his copy of St. Matthew, which were at first indeed a marginal gloss upon these words, chap. v. 28. *If any man looketh upon a woman so as to lust after her*, &c. but af-

<sup>1</sup> Apud Fabrit. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. par. 3. p. 522.



scholars of Clemens, does more than once in his works paraphrase these words of Christ in the same manner<sup>a</sup>.

XIX. *A Saying ascribed to Christ, and cited by most of the ancient Fathers.*

Γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται.

Be ye skilful money-changers.

It is surprising to observe how many of the primitive writers of Christianity have cited this passage in their works; Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>t</sup>, Apelles<sup>u</sup>, Origen<sup>x</sup>, Dionysius Alexandrinus<sup>y</sup>, Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>z</sup>, Pamphilus<sup>a</sup>, Athanasius<sup>b</sup>, Jerome<sup>c</sup>, Cyril of Alexandria<sup>d</sup>, besides several more, have cited it; Cotelierius, Usher, Valesius, Dr. Grabe, Mr. Fabricius, Mr. Whiston, Dr. Mill, and others among the moderns, have observed it; though I know not any sufficient remarks that have been yet made concerning its true original; for which reason I design more particularly to discuss it. *It is supposed by most to have been taken out of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes*; so Cotelierius<sup>e</sup>, Usher<sup>f</sup>, Valesius<sup>g</sup>: but this must needs be a mistake, because very few of the fathers understood the language of that Gospel, and a version was not made of it till Jerome had made his, as is above proved, Chap. XXVII. That which appears to me most probable upon examining the places of the fathers, where this passage is cited, I shall reduce into the following distinct observations; viz.

1. None of all the writers, who have mentioned it, *do cite it as the saying or words of Christ within the first four centuries*, except Origen, Jerome, and the heretic Apelles.

2. *The meaning of the passage, Γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται, Be skilful money-changers, is the very same with that exhortation of the apostle, 1 Thess. v. 21. Prove all things, viz. that as money-changers they should be careful to distinguish between that which is good and bad, and, like them, try and prove all. This is evident from the design of every citation, but more*

<sup>a</sup> Vid. contr. Cels. lib. 7. p. 362. et de Orat. §. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Strom. lib. 1. p. 354.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Epiphani. Hæres. 44. §. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Tom. 19. in Joann. viii. 20.

<sup>y</sup> Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 7.

<sup>z</sup> Catech. 6. in fine.

<sup>a</sup> Apolog. pro Orig. in initio.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Solitar.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. ad Miner. et Alex. in fine.

<sup>d</sup> Apud Cotelier. Not. in Const. Apostol. l. 2. c. 36.

<sup>e</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>f</sup> Prolegom. in Epist. Ignat. c. 8.

<sup>g</sup> In Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 7.

clearly from the explications which the fathers themselves have given of these words. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus *compares a person ignorant in logic, and not knowing how to distinguish between things, to an ignorant money-changer, who cannot distinguish good money from bad*<sup>h</sup>, and elsewhere<sup>i</sup> expressly calls them the *δοκίμους τραπεζίτας*, i. e. the *skilful money-changers*, τὸ κίβδηλον νόμισμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχαράγματος διακρίνοντας, *who can distinguish the bad money* (pretending to be the Lord's) *by its stamp and character*, i. e. *heresy from truth*; and Jerome, after having cited the passage, *Be skilful money-changers*, adds for illustration<sup>k</sup>, “like those who reject that for counterfeit coin, which has not the image of Cæsar so stamped upon it as it ought to have.” Once more, in the Apostolical Constitutions<sup>l</sup>, after the passage produced, in the next paragraph we read, “Be as skilful dealers in money, who reject that which is bad, and keep that which is good.” It is plain therefore, to mention no more instances, the scope of the exhortation is, that we be careful in proving, trying, or examining things (as the money-changers do their money), and this is the very same as St. Paul says, *Prove all things*. Which being so, I observe,

3. *The fathers cite this passage as the saying of the apostle, and do all of them (except Origen and Jerome) cite it instead of this very passage of St. Paul, (1 Thess. v. 21.) Prove all things.* This is as evident as any thing can be, by a view of the places: Dionysius Alexandrinus calls it ἀποστολική φωνή, i. e. *the apostle's saying*<sup>m</sup>. Cyril of Alexandria in several places calls it *the words of Paul*<sup>n</sup>. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>o</sup>, Pamphilus<sup>p</sup>, and others, add the following words of Paul in the end of this verse and verse 22. *Hold fast that which is good, and abstain from the appearance of evil.*

4. It is evident therefore, *this was not any saying of Christ, but of Paul*; and so not taken out of any apocryphal gospel.

There are indeed two difficulties attending this hypothesis, viz. *How so many fathers could agree to cite St. Paul's words*

<sup>h</sup> Strom. l. 6. p. 655.

<sup>i</sup> Strom. l. 7. p. 754.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. ad Miner. et Alex. in fine.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. 2. c. 36, 37.

<sup>m</sup> Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 7.

<sup>n</sup> Apud Coteler. loc. cit.

<sup>o</sup> Catech. 6. in fine.

<sup>p</sup> Apolog. pro Origene in init.

thus different from what they are in our present copies, and how Origen, Jerome, and Apelles were so mistaken in citing it as a saying of Christ.

As to the first, I frankly own I believe it proceeded from an early interpolation in the text; some one, opposite to St. Paul's words, writing for explication *ὡς δόκιμοι τραπέζῃται*, in the margin, he who transcribed that copy inserted it in the text with the addition of the verb *γίνεσθε*, which he apprehended needful to complete the sense.

As to the latter; viz. Origen, Jerome, and Apelles citing it as a saying of Christ, I answer,

First, That it is not strange Jerome should do so, when Origen had done it before him, because he so much followed him, and depended upon him.

Secondly, Either Origen failed in memory, and wrote down that as a saying of Christ, which, if he had examined, he would have found to be St. Paul's; which is very common: or else,

Thirdly, Some scribe made the addition *ἐντολὴν Κυρίου*, i. e. *the command of God*, as an introduction to the passage, which they often did; and in doing so were often mistaken.

Fourthly, Whereas the heretic Apelles quotes the passage, as being *ἐν τῇ Εὐαγγελίᾳ*, in the Gospel; we may suppose him either mistaken, or else that he uses the word gospel in a large sense, to denote St. Paul's Epistle; and this cannot seem strange to those who consider, that the word *gospel* is frequently used not only in the New Testament for the doctrine of the Gospel, but is also by the primitive writers frequently put for any book of the New Testament. Thus Clemens Romanus calls the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, *the Gospel of Paul*<sup>4</sup>: or perhaps, Apelles might read these words in the false Gospel which he made use of, and which afterwards went under his name (see Part I. Chap. VII. N<sup>o</sup>. IV.); into which, being so noted a saying, it was inserted out of this place of St. Paul's Epistle.

It cannot be improper here to observe, that Mr. Whiston<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Epist. ad Corinth. I. c. 47. See above, Part II. Chap. III. and Junius and Cotelierus on that place of Cle-

mens.

<sup>5</sup> Essay on the Constit. p. 165.

urges this passage, because it is cited by Dionysius Alexandrinus as an ἀποστολικὴ φωνή, i. e. *an apostolical saying*, (and, as he thinks, out of the Constitutions,) *as a strong and almost undeniable attestation to the Constitutions of the Apostles*, and imagines this *such a citation as cannot fairly be set aside by any*. But I suppose even Mr. Whiston himself will allow, that the foregoing remarks do sufficiently overthrow his argument; and I must observe, that ἀποστολικὴ φωνή may as well be translated *the words of the apostle* in the singular number, as *the words of the apostles* in the plural.

XX. *A Saying ascribed to Christ in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 5. p. 578.*

<p>Οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τινὶ Εὐαγγελίῳ· Μυστήριον ἔμδν ἔμοι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου.</p>	<p>For the [Lord], says he, hath declared without envy in some gospel, <i>My secret is to me, and the children of my house.</i></p>
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I do not know any one who has observed this passage besides Mr. Fabritius, who places it among the fragments of the Gospel of the Nazarenes<sup>a</sup>, and in his note conjectures, that it was perhaps in the Gospel of the Egyptians; but for want of a more close examination, this learned writer is apparently mistaken in both his conjectures, as will evidently appear by the following remark; viz. that

Clemens did not cite these words as the words of Christ, but as the words of the prophet Isaiah; for

1. *They are now to be found in several copies of the Septuagint version of Isaiah xxiv. 16. with but little variation.* In the scholia of the Greek version I find it asserted, that *in some copies are the following words, τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἔμοι, τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἔμοι, καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς.* They are also in Procopius, though noted with an asterisk. Jerome says, they were not originally in the Septuagint, but interpolated out of Theodotion's Greek translation. Chrysostom and Theodoret also read it. (See the Cambridge scholia on the Septuagint.) Agreeable to this the old Latin Vulgate renders it *secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi*; and though our English translators render it *my leanness, my leanness, woe unto me*, yet in

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. p. 361.

the margin for *leanness* they have put *my secret to me* ; nor indeed is there any better way of interpreting the Hebrew word סֵתֶר, which properly denotes *a secret*, and is thus understood by the Chaldee interpreter here, as it is commonly also used in that language ; see Dan. ii. 18, 27, 28, &c. and hence the angel Raziel is so called, *quia Deo a secretis est.*

2. It being plain that these words were in the Greek copies of Isaiah, I add, that *Clemens cited them thence* : this is undeniable, unless we suppose him by mistake to have taken these to be the words of Christ, which were the words of the prophet, and to have cited accordingly ; but that he really was not mistaken, is evident ; for he had in the words next before cited the prophet Isaiah, and then adds, οὐ γὰρ φρονῶν φησι, *for without envy he said*, i. e. the prophet said ; for that verb cannot possibly relate to any one else, no other noun having been before ; and though the noun Κύριος immediately follow, yet it has its proper verb παρήγγειλεν, *the Lord hath declared* ; but *saying* and *declaring* being the same thing, both the verbs cannot refer to that noun ; and consequently one or other of them must be superfluous, and not wrote by the author at first : but this is the latter, because we certainly know the prophet wrote those words, but do not know that Christ did speak them. It is therefore evident that Clemens did not write the words παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τινὶ Εὐαγγελίῳ, *the Lord hath declared in a certain Gospel*, but they were inserted by some ignorant transcriber, who imagined them to be the words of Christ, and by adding the word παρήγγειλεν, when the word φησὶν so immediately preceded, he plainly betrayed his ignorance and interpolation. This is yet further confirmed by Clement's citing, as he does in the next paragraph, the same prophet thus, πάλιν ὁ προφήτης, *and again the prophet saith*, which he could not have said, had he not cited him before. All this is so evident, that I think it may be fairly urged as an instance to support some conjectures which I have made above, concerning the interpolations of the scribes in ancient manuscripts.

XXI. *A History of Christ and his Parents, in Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 1. p. 22.*

Ὅνειδίζει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ He ridicules (viz. Celsus) our Sa-  
c c 2

κώμης αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι Ἰουδαϊκῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐγγχωρίου καὶ πενιχρᾶς, καὶ χερνήτιδος. Φησὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος, τέκτονος τὴν τέχνην ὄντος, ἐξεῶσθαι, ἐλεγχθεῖσαν ὡς μεμοιχευμένην. Εἰτα λέγει, ὡς ἐκβληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ πλανωμένη ἀτίμως σκότιον ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν· καὶ ὅτι οὗτος διὰ πέναν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μισθαρήσας, κάκει δυνάμεων τινων πειρασθεὶς, ἐφ' αἷς Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνύνονται, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι μέγα φρονῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτὰς Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνηγέρυσσε.

viour, that he was born in a mean village of Judæa, and of a mean poor woman, who got her bread by spinning, and was turned away by her husband, who was a carpenter, because she was charged with adultery. Again, he adds, that when she was turned out by her husband, and scandalously wandered about the countries, she privately brought forth Jesus, and that he being through poverty obliged to work as a servant in Egypt, and there having learnt some sort of powerful arts, which are much reputed in Egypt, he returned much lifted up with his arts, and thought because of them he deserved to be esteemed as a God.

Whether Celsus met with this in any apocryphal gospel or no, I cannot tell; something of this sort we meet with in some apocryphal books extant in St. Austin's time, under the name of Christ. Concerning the magical power by which he wrought his miracles, see above, Chap. XIV. If he took it out of some such book, it can no way affect the credit of our canon, that such an enemy should be fond of such ridiculous writings. But I rather think it was a forgery among the Jews, than any part of an apocryphal gospel.

## XXII. *A History of our Saviour's relations, according to the flesh, in Epiphanius, Hæres. 78. §. 7. et 8.*

Πῶς γὰρ ἡδύνατο ὁ τοσοῦτος γέρον παρθένον ἔχειν γυναῖκα, ὃν ἀπὸ πρώτης γυναικὸς χῆρος τοσαῦτα ἔτη; οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀδελφὸς γίνεται τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ἣν δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἐπὶ κλην δὲ Πάνθηρ καλουμένου· ἀμφοτέροι οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάνθηρος ἐπὶ κλην γεννῶν-

How could a man so old have a young virgin for his wife, having been a widower so many years after his first wife's decease? For Joseph was the brother of Cleophas, the son of James, surnamed Panther. Both these were the sons of him who was surnamed



ται· ἔσχε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὴν μὲν πρώτην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, καὶ κύσκει αὐτῇ αὕτη παῖδας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἕξ, τέσσαρας μὲν ἄρρενας, θηλείας δὲ δύο, καθάπερ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον καὶ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐσαφῆνισαν. Ἔσχε μὲν οὖν πρωτότοκον τὸν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Ὀββλίαν, ἑρμηνευόμενον τεῦχος, καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικληθέντα, Ναζωραῖον δὲ ὄντα, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται ἅγιος. — Τίττει μὲν τοῦτον τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐγγύς, που περὶ ἑτη γεγονῶς τέσσαράκοντα πλείω ἐλάσσω. Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ γίνεται παῖς Ἰωσῆ καλούμενος, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν Συμεὼν, ἔπειτα Ἰούδας· καὶ δύο θυγατέρες, ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη καλουμένη· καὶ τέθνηκεν αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνή, καὶ μετὰ ἑτη πολλὰ λαμβάνει τὴν Μαρίαν χῆρος, κατὰ γων ἡλικίαν περὶ που ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν καὶ πρὶος ὁ ἀνὴρ. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαμβάνει τὴν Μαρίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ λέγει.

I know not whence Epiphanius collected this so particular account of our Saviour's family; there was indeed an *apocryphal and spurious piece under the name of James*, and another<sup>t</sup> entitled, *The Gospel of Peter*; in one of which Origen says it was affirmed, *That Joseph had children by a former wife, before he married Mary*; and Jerome also says, *this was in several of the apocryphal gospels*. He adds, that the former wife's name was Escha<sup>u</sup>. But it does not at all appear, that Epiphanius made any use of such books, who is ever most forward to declare against them; and as to this history it seems to be formed upon a very common tradition among the fa-

Panther. This Joseph married his first wife out of the tribe of Judah, by whom he had six children; four of which were males, and two females, as appears by the Gospel of Mark and John. His first-born was James, who was surnamed Oblias, (which signifies a wall,) and was called *the Just*, and he was a Nazarite, which denotes a *holy person*—He had his son James, when he was much about forty years of age. After him he had a son called Jose, and then after him Simeon, afterwards Jude; and two daughters, one called Mary, another Salome: and his wife died, and after many years of widowhood he married Mary, when he was upwards of fourscore years old. Then he took Mary, as the Gospel relates.

<sup>t</sup> See above, Part II. Chap. XX. No. XXIV.

<sup>u</sup> Comment. in Matth. xii. 49.

thers, that Joseph had children by a former wife, which they very zealously contend for, in order to support their prevailing opinion, which they were so fond of, viz. *the perpetual virginity of Mary*. And it is on this very score Epiphanius mentions it here, against the Antidicomarianitæ, who denied it <sup>x</sup>.

**XXIII. An Answer of the Apostles to Christ, in Jerome. Dialog. contr. Pelag. Hæres. lib. 2. c. 6.**

CHRIST having reproved them for their unbelief of his resurrection ;

*Illi satisfaciebant dicentes, Seculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est, quæ non sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem ; idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam.*

They were satisfied, and said,  
*" This age is the substance of iniquity and unbelief, which through the [influence of] evil spirits, will not suffer the true power of God to be perceived ; therefore even now manifest thy justice."*

This passage Jerome, in the place cited, affirms was in some copies of St. Mark, (especially the Greek ones,) in the end of the last chapter, viz. after verse 14. and becomes considerable here, only because it has been supposed by several learned men to be taken out of some apocryphal gospels. So Erasmus, and father Simon <sup>y</sup>, to whom Dr. Mill <sup>z</sup> subscribes, and adds a very probable conjecture, that it was taken out of one of the Manichæan Gospels, and perhaps that of Thomas ; which, if indeed it be true, yet does no way affect the credit of our present canon. For besides that I have above proved the Gospels of the Manichees to be apocryphal ; so this passage itself proves the book which contained it, out of which it was inserted into Mark, to have been such <sup>a</sup>. As to its being interpolated into the last chapter of Mark, I have here no concern, that matter belonging to the question about the integrity of the text. I shall only add, that this chapter of that Gospel has suffered many alterations ; *for in many copies the last twelve verses are en-*

<sup>x</sup> See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, p. 175.

<sup>y</sup> Eras. in Mar. 16. et Sim. Critic. Hist. Nov. Test. par. 1. c. 11.

<sup>z</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 724. et in loc.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Eras. et Mill. loc. cit.

*tirely omitted*: Jerome says<sup>b</sup>, they were to be found but in few copies; and almost all the Greek books had them not. I mention this, because Dr. Mill<sup>c</sup> supposes the interpolated verse, which I am now considering, did appear so plainly spurious, that some ignorant transcribers left out the rest of the chapter upon the account of that.

XXIV. *A Question of the Apostles, and Reply of our Saviour, preserved in St. Austin, contr. Advers. Leg. et Prophet. lib. 2. c. 4.*

Sed apostolis, inquit, Dominum nostrum interrogantibus de Judæorum prophetis, quid sentiri deberet, qui de adventu ejus aliquid cecinisse in præteritum putabantur? Commotus talia etiam eps nunc sentire respondit, Dimisistis vivum qui ante vos est, et de mortuis fabulamini. Quid mirum, quandoquidem hoc testimonium de scripturis nescio quibus apocryphis protulit, si de prophetis Dei talia confinxerunt hæretici, qui easdem literas non accipiunt.

But, saith he, (viz. the Manichee, against whom he writes,) when the apostles asked our Lord, *What opinion should be entertained of those Jewish prophets, who were supposed formerly to have foretold things relating to his coming?* He being angry that they should think any such thing at that time, answered, *You disregard him who is alive, and among you, and deal in idle stories about those who are dead.* But it is no wonder, seeing he took this testimony out of some apocryphal books, that the heretics, who do not receive the same [sacred] books, should forge such things of the prophets.

Concerning this saying there need no more be said, but that though it was part of an apocryphal gospel, yet it was taken thence by a wretched heretic, and with this design, to prove his doctrine of the necessity of not regarding the ancient Jewish prophets. Dr. Mill<sup>d</sup> conjectures it was taken out of the Gospel of Thomas, in which though he perhaps may be right, yet he is mistaken in supposing it to have been ever interpolated into either of our present Gospels.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Hedib. Quæst. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Annot. in Mar. xvi. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 724, 725.

XXV. *A Saying in some Gospel, according to the opinion of Jerome, in Ezech. xvii.*

<p>Tale quid et illud Evangelii sonat, Est-confusio quæ ducit ad mor- tem, et est confusio quæ ducit ad vitam.</p>	<p>Something like that are the words of the Gospel, <i>There is a shame which leadeth to death, and a shame which leadeth to life.</i></p>
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Concerning these words, Mr. Fabritius<sup>c</sup> seems rightly to guess, that Jerome failed in point of memory, citing that out of the Gospel which is not there; perhaps he meant those words in the book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. iv. 21. which are not much unlike: *There is a shame that bringeth sin, and there is a shame which is glory and grace.*

These are all the *Sayings* and *Histories* of Christ which have fallen within my observation, and which were necessary to be produced, in order to shew they were not taken by any ecclesiastical writers out of apocryphal gospels. Some besides these I have observed, which I regard not, as being no way prejudicial to the canon, because either *found in books evidently spurious and of uncertain age*; (such as those in the Constitutions under the apostles' names, of which the reader may take the following instance out of b. IV. c. 3. It is said by the Lord, *Woe to those that have and receive in hypocrisy, or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others, for both of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgment*;) or *because they are only the various readings of different copies, and interpolation of scribes in their manuscripts*, which were wrote long after the end of the fourth century, and of which the reader may see many instances in Dr. Mill's notes on the Gospels; see Matt. xx. 28. xxiv. 31. Mark xvi. 8. Luke vi. 5. John iii. 5. vi. 25. But besides either of these, there are now to be found in the Alcoran of Mahomet several *Discourses*, *Sayings*, and *Histories*, as of Christ and his apostles, which are not to be found in any of our present Gospels. My design indeed obliges me not to take any notice of these, because the impostor lived about two hundred years after that time to which I have confined myself in the whole of this discourse, and at a time when there was not the least

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. par. 3. p. 524.

dispute among the Christians about the canon of the New Testament, but all in every country universally agreed in receiving the same books as scripture. However I thought it not unsuitable to present the reader with the following collection which I have made out of the Alcoran of the *Sayings, Histories, Discourses*, &c. which are therein ascribed to Christ, his apostles, &c. for the following reasons:

1. Because the passages being so large, and undoubtedly many, or most of them taken out of apocryphal books, will afford us more clear and enlarged notions of those books, as being made up of idle, fabulous, and incredible relations, which consequently will be no small strengthening to our present books in the canon, whose accounts are so much more consistent and rational.

2. Hereby we shall see what wretched, perverse, and unjust ideas the Mahometans are necessitated to have of the Christian religion, who know little or nothing of Christ, but what is contained in the following collection.

3. We hereby also perceive how unfair the artifices were, which the impostor made use of against Christianity in the compiling his Alcoran, who chose to make his collections concerning Christ, and the Christian affairs, out of those spurious and apocryphal books, which were at that time almost universally rejected by Christians, and not from the genuine and allowed records of Christ's apostles.

4. Such a collection as the following having not yet been made (to my knowledge) by any, I thought it might be some entertainment to those who have any curiosity in these things, to see at one view what Mahomet and his followers believe concerning Jesus Christ, as it is contained in their Alcoran.

A Collection of the HISTORIES and SAYINGS of CHRIST, and Things relating to him, which are to be found in the Alcoran of MAHOMET.

[N. B. In this collection I have followed the last English translation of the Alcoran, done out of the French, which was translated out of Arabic by the sieur de Ryer, lord of Malezair, and resident for the French king at Alexandria.]

I. Chap. II. Entitled, *Of the Cow*, p. 72.

MAHOMET introduces God thus speaking, "*We gave the law to Moses, and after him sent many prophets; we inspired knowledge into Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him by the Holy Ghost; but you arose against the prophets that came contrary to your affections; you belied one part, and slew another.*" The same in part we read in the same chapter, p. 89.

II. Chap. III. Entitled, *Of the Lineage of Joachim*, p. 96, 97, &c.

GOD elected Adam and Noah, the lineage of Abraham, and the lineage of Joachim; the one proceedeth from the other; God knoweth and understandeth all things. Remember thou, how the wife of Joachim said, "*Lord, I vow unto thee the fruit that is in my womb free and exempt from all affairs, to serve thee in thy temple. Accept him from me, who offer him to thee with affection; thou understandest and knowest all things.*" When she was delivered, she said, "*Lord, I am delivered of a daughter, thou knowest thou hast given her to me; I have named her Mary: I will preserve, through thine assistance, her and her posterity from the malice of the Devil. Accept her, Lord, with a pleasing acceptation, and cause her to produce good fruits.*" Zachary had the care of the education of this daughter; and whensoever he went into his oratory, he there found a thousand sorts of different fruits of divers seasons. He said one day, "*O Mary! Whence do these good things proceed?*" She answered, "*They proceed from God, who*

*"enricheth without measure whom he pleaseth."* Then Zachary prayed to the Lord, and said, *"Lord, give me a progeny that may be pleasing to thee, and that may observe thy commandments; Lord, hear my prayers."* The angel called to him, and said to him, *"I declare to thee from God, that thou shalt have a son called John, he shall affirm the Messias to be the Word of God; that he shall be a great person, chaste, a prophet, and one of the just."* Lord, answered Zachary, *How shall I have a son, I am old, and my wife is barren?"* The angel said to him, *"So God doth as pleaseth him."* Lord, said Zachary, *Give me some sign of the conception of my wife.* *The sign that I will give thee,* answered the angel, *shall be, That thou shalt not speak in three days, but by signs:"* Remember thou thy Lord often, praise him evening and morning. Remember thou, how the angel said, *"O Mary, God hath chosen and purified thee above all the women of the world; O Mary, obey thy Lord, praise him, and worship him with those that worship him."* I relate to thee how the matter past; Thou wert not with the ministers of the temple, when they cast in their pens to draw lots, and to see which of them should have the care of the education of Mary, neither when they entered upon this difficulty. Remember thou, how the angels said; *"O Mary, God declareth unto thee a word, from which shall proceed the Messias, named Jesus, the son of Mary, full of honour in this world, and that shall be in the other in the number of intercessors with his divine Majesty. He shall speak in the cradle as a man betwixt thirty and fifty years, and shall be in the number of the just."* She said, *"Lord; how shall I have a child without the touch of a man?"* He answered, *"So God doth as pleaseth him; when he createth any thing, he saith, Be thou, and it is. I will teach him the scriptures, the mysteries of the Law, the Old Testament, and the Gospel, and he shall be a prophet sent to the children of Israel."* Jesus said to the children of Israel, *"I come to you with evident signs of my mission from your Lord; I will make unto you of the slime of the earth the figure of a bird; I will blow upon it, presently it shall be a bird, and by the permission of God shall fly; I will heal them that are born blind, and the leprous; I will raise again the*

“dead; I will teach you what you shall eat, and what you ought not to eat. This shall serve you for instruction, if you believe in God. I am come to confirm the Old Testament, and what hath been taught you heretofore. Certainly it is lawful for you to eat things that have heretofore been forbidden. I am come to you with signs of my mission, that testify that I am truly sent from your Lord. Fear God, and obey me; God is my Lord, and your Lord, worship him; this is the right way.” When Jesus knew their impiety, he said, “Who shall sustain the law of God in my absence?” The apostles answered him, “We will sustain the law of God; we believe in his unity. Be thou a witness before God, that we resign ourselves wholly to the pleasure of his divine Majesty. Lord, we believe in what thou hast commanded, and we have followed the prophet, thy apostle; write us in the number of them that profess thy law.” The Jews conspired against Jesus, and God caused their conspiracy to turn against them; he knoweth the designs of conspirators. Remember thou, how the Lord said, “O Jesus, I will cause thee to die; I will elevate thee to myself, and remove thee far from infidels, and prefer those who have obeyed thee to infidels at the day of judgment”—Jesus is with God. *A little after, viz. p. 100.* We believe in God in what he hath inspired into us, in what he inspired into Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and the tribes; in what was ordained by Moses, by Jesus, and generally all the prophets.—Such as shall be impious towards Jesus having believed the books of Moses, and shall augment their impiety against Mahomet, shall never be converted, shall err eternally.

### III. Chap. IV. Entitled, *Of Women*, p. 124.

GOD imprinted infidelity in their (*the Jews*) hearts; they shall never believe in his law, except very few of them, because of their malice, and the blasphemies they vomited against Mary; they said, “We have slain the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the prophet and apostle of God.” Certainly they slew him not, neither crucified him; *they crucified one among them that resembled him.* Such as doubt it are in a manifest error, and speak not but through opinion. *Certainly they slew him*



*not.* On the contrary, God took him up to himself; he is omnipotent and prudent in all his actions. Such as have the knowledge of the scripture ought to believe in Jesus before his death: he shall be a witness against them of their actions at the day of judgment. *In the next page*—The Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, is a prophet and an apostle of God, his Word and Spirit, which he sent to Mary: believe therefore in God, and his prophets, and say not, *There be three Gods: put an end to that discourse, you shall do well*; for there is but one God: praised be God, *he hath no son*; whatever is in heaven and earth obeyeth him: it is sufficient that he is witness. The Messiah esteemeth it no dishonour to be the servant of God, neither the angel, nor the cherubim.

IV. Chap. V. Entitled, *The Chapter of the Table*, p. 129.

CERTAINLY, he that saith, that the *Messiah, the son of Mary, is God, is impious*; say to him, Who can hinder God to *exterminate the Messiah* and his mother, with whatsoever is in the earth, when it shall seem good to him?

V. The same Chapter, p. 132.

“*WE sent, after many prophets, Jesus the son of Mary, who confirmed the ancient scriptures. To him we gave the Gospel full of light, to conduct the people to the right way, with a confirmation of the Old Testament, a guide and instruction for the righteous.*” They that follow the Gospel ought to judge as it is commanded in the Gospel.

VI. The same Chapter, p. 134, 135.

CERTAINLY they, who affirm *the Messiah, the son of Mary, to be God, are impious*. The Messiah commandeth the children of Israel *to worship God, his and their Lord*. The entrance into paradise is forbidden to him that shall say, *God hath a companion equal to him*; hell shall be his habitation, and the unjust shall find none to protect them at the day of judgment. Such as affirm, *there are three Gods*, are impious: there is but one God. If they desist not from such discourse, they shall burn in the fire of hell: if they turn and implore pardon of God, he will be gracious to them, and merciful. The

Messiah, the son of Mary, is a *prophet and apostle of God*, like to the prophets that came before him; his mother is holy, and both of them did eat and drink.—The infidels are accursed by the tongue of David, and of *Messiah, the son of Mary*, because of their disobedience, &c.

VII. The same Chapter, p. 138, 139.

HE shall say to Jesus, "*O Jesus, son of Mary, remember thou my grace towards thee, and thy mother: I strengthened thee with the Holy Ghost: thou spakest in thy cradle as a man of forty or fifty years. Thee did I instruct in scripture and knowledge, the Old Testament and the Gospel. Thou didst form of earth the figure of a bird, didst breathe upon it, and it did fly; thou didst cure the born blind, and the leprous, and didst revive the dead. I delivered thee from the Jews, when thou didst preach to them my commandments, and wroughtest miracles, which the wicked affirmed to be magic and enchantment. Remember how thou didst command thy apostles to believe in me, and obey my Prophet, and how they said, We believe in one sole God; be thou witness that we entirely resign ourselves to the will of God. Remember thou that the apostles said, O Jesus, son of Mary, can thy Lord send us from heaven a table covered with meats to satisfy us?*" Jesus answered them, "*Fear God, if you believe in his law.*" They said, "*We have an appetite, and desire to eat of the food of heaven, for the repose of our hearts, and to know if thou speakest truth, of which we shall be witnesses.*" Then said he, "*O God, my Lord, cause to descend upon us from heaven a table covered with meat. This day shall be celebrated by us, and them that shall succeed. This shall be a sign of thy omnipotency; enrich us with thy grace; thou possessest all treasure.*" God said to him, "*I will cause to descend from heaven the food which thou desirest; and whosoever shall be impious, shall be punished with torments, that no man yet hath suffered.*" He shall say at the day of judgment, "*O Jesus, son of Mary! Didst thou enjoin the people to worship thee and thy mother as two Gods?*" Jesus shall answer, "*Praised be thy name, I will take heed of speaking what is not; thou knowest if I have*

“said it; thou art omniscient; thou knowest what is in my  
 “soul, and I have no knowledge of what is in thee; I delivered  
 “nothing but what thou didst command me to speak, viz. Wor-  
 “ship God your Lord and mine. I am witness from the time  
 “I was in the world, until thou didst cause me to die, thou  
 “didst observe the deportments of the people; thou seest all;  
 “if thou chastisest men, they are thy creatures; if thou dost  
 “pardon them, thou art omnipotent and wise. Then shall  
 “God say,” &c.

VIII. Chap. VI. Entitled, *Of Gratifications*, p. 146.

“WE gave knowledge to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob his  
 “son. We before instructed Noah and his lineage in the right  
 “way. We taught it David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses,  
 “Aaron, Zachary, St. John, Jesus the son of Mary, Eliah,  
 “Ishmael, Joshua, Jonas, and Lot. We gratified them above  
 “the residue of the world.”

IX. Chap. IX. Entitled, *Of Conversion*, p. 178.

THE Jews have said, that *the Son of God is most power-  
 ful*: the Christians, that *the Messiah is the Son of God*:  
 their words are like the words of infidels that preceded them,  
 but God shall lay upon them his curse. Consider how they  
 blaspheme; they adore their doctors and priests, and *the Mes-  
 siah also, the son of Mary, who commanded them to worship  
 one God alone*; there is but one sole God, there is nothing  
 equal to him.

X. Chap. XIX. Entitled, *Of Mary*, p. 246. &c.

ZACHARY, the servant of thy Lord, remembered his  
 grace, when he in secret prayed to his Lord, and said, “Lord,  
 “my bones are become feeble, and mine head is white with old  
 “age; Lord, I never was rejected in my prayers, hear my  
 “petition, give me a son to succeed me, that may be mine heir,  
 “heir of the lineage of Jacob, and be pleasing to thee.” “O Za-  
 “chary! I declare unto thee, that thou shalt have a son named  
 “John; no man hath yet been called by that name.” He said,  
 “Lord, how shall I have a son? My wife is barren, and I am  
 “too old.” It was answered him, “The thing shall be as I

"have said unto thee; it is easy to thy Lord, who created thee." He said, "Lord, give me some sign of the conception of my wife." He said to him, "Thou shalt not speak for three nights." Then went he out of his oratory, and made signs to the people to make their prayers morning and evening. "Oh John! learn the scripture with affection: we from his infancy gave him knowledge, clemency, charity, piety, affection towards his father and mother, and not violence and disobedience. We blessed the day of his nativity, the day that he shall die, and the day that he shall rise again." Remember thou what is written of Mary, "She retired towards the east into a place far remote from her kindred, and took a veil to cover her. We sent her our Spirit in the form of a man: she was afraid, and said, God will preserve me from thee, if thou have his fear before thine eyes." He said, "O Mary, I am the messenger of God, thy Lord, who shall give thee a son active and prudent." She answered, "How shall I have a son without the touch of a man? I desire not to be unchaste." He said, "The thing shall be as I have told thee; it is easy to thy Lord; thy son shall be a token of the omnipotence of God, and of his special grace toward such as shall believe in his divine majesty." She became with child, and retired some time into a place remote from people, where she sustained the dolours of childbirth at the foot of a date-tree, and said, "Why am not I dead? wherefore am I not in the number of persons forgotten?" The angel said to her, "Afflict not thyself; God hath placed a brook under thee; shake the foot of this palm, and the dates shall fall; gather them up; eat and drink, and wash thine eyes: say unto them that thou shalt meet, that thou fastest, and hast made a vow not to speak to any one, until the fast be accomplished." Her parents met her while she bare her infant, and said unto her, "Oh Mary! behold a strange thing: Oh sister of Aaron! thy father did not command thee to do evil, neither was thy mother unchaste." She made signs to her infant to answer them: they said, "How shall the infant in the cradle speak?" Then her infant spake, and said, "I am the servant of God: he hath taught me the scriptures, hath made me a prophet, blessed me in all places, and commanded me to pray unto

“ him : he hath recommended to me purity through the whole  
 “ course of my life, and to honour my father and mother ; he  
 “ hath not made me either violent or malicious : praised shall  
 “ be the day of my birth, the day that I shall die, and the day  
 “ of my resurrection.” Thus spake Jesus, the son of Mary,  
 with truth, of which ye doubt ; God approveth not the discourse  
 of them who say, *He hath a Son*. Praised be God.

XI. Chap. XXIII. Entitled, *Of true Believers*, p. 271.

“ *WE created Jesus and Mary his mother ; they are signs*  
 “ *of our unity ; we established them in an eminent place, where*  
 “ *they stayed near a fountain.*”

XII. Chap. XXXIII. Entitled, *Of bands of Soldiers*, p. 314.

REMEMBER thou, we received the premise of the prophets, of thee, of Noah, of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, the son of Mary, to worship but one God : we received a strong premise. See to the same purpose Chap. XLII. p. 356.

XIII. Chap. XLIII. Entitled, *Of Counsel*, p. 362.

THE people would not hearken to the son of Mary, when he spake to them by parable : they said, *Our gods are more profitable to us than his lies and questions* : on the contrary, they were refractory ; “ *He is our servant ; we conferred on*  
 “ *him our grace, and made him like to the other prophets of the*  
 “ *children of Israel. Had it pleased me, I had created angels*  
 “ *on earth in your place : the coming of Jesus, the son of*  
 “ *Mary, shall be a sign of the certainty of the day of judg-*  
 “ *ment ; doubt not concerning that day : he said unto me, Fol-*  
 “ *low me, it is the right way ; beware, lest the Devil seduce*  
 “ *you ; he is your open enemy ; I come to teach you the com-*  
 “ *mandments of God, to resolve the doubts, and judge the dif-*  
 “ *ferences that are among you : fear God, and obey him ; he*  
 “ *is your Lord, and mine ; worship him, it is the right way.*  
 “ *The people doubted his doctrine, but misery shall be upon*  
 “ *the wicked.*” A little after, p. 363. If God have a Son, whom shall we first adore ? Praised be God, king of heaven and earth, the matter is not as the infidels deliver it.

XIV. Chap. LVII. Entitled, *Of Iron*, p. 395.

“ *WE sent Noah and Abraham, &c. We sent Jesus, the son of Mary: we taught him the gospel: we put civility, decency, and chastity into the hearts of them that followed him: we did not command them to keep virginity; they kept it of their own accord, because of the desire they had to please God: they have not observed their law, as they ought; many have been disobedient, but we have rewarded those among them who believed.*” O ye that believe in Jesus, fear God and believe in his Prophet: ye shall have double the reward of God’s mercy; he shall pardon your sins, &c.

XV. Chap. LXI. Entitled, *Of Array*, p. 403.

REMEMBER thou, that Jesus, the son of Mary, said to the children of Israel, *I am the messenger of God; he hath sent me to confirm the Old Testament, and to declare to you, that there shall come a prophet after me, whose name shall be Mahomet.* When he came with miracles, reasons most intelligible, and arguments infallible, they said that he was a magician: who is more impious, than he that blasphemeth against God?

*A little after in the same chapter.*

JESUS, the son of Mary, said to his apostles, *Who will maintain the law of God with me? he shall be supported and protected of God.* The apostles answered, *We will maintain it.* One part of the children of Israel believed in Jesus, and another rejected his law: *We gave succour to them that believed against their enemies, and they were victorious.*

These are the passages which are in the Alcoran concerning Christ, his *doctrines, discourses, actions, &c.* Concerning them I intend not to make any particular criticism or remarks; but only to attempt the proof of this one proposition, that *Mahomet took many or most of these passages out of some spurious and apocryphal Gospels of the Gnosticks, and other ancient heretics.*

This is a fact, as far as I know, yet unknown, yet unproved in the world, although it evidently appears to be of considerable consequence. It is indeed a common observation, that in

the compiling of the Alcoran the impostor made use of the scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and took many parts of his book out of both, which is indeed true; but he who will with any carefulness compare what he seems to have borrowed from the scriptures with the accounts referred to in the scriptures themselves, will be not a little surprised to see the difference; and be the more easily induced to believe, that he *most commonly made use of some apocryphal and spurious writings*. For the evidencing of this I propose the following remarks:

First, Mahomet has not in any one place of the Alcoran *cited either of our present Gospels, or any book of the New Testament*, by name. This I assert upon a strict perusal of the whole book, although I have observed five or six passages therein which seem very plainly to be taken thence: so for instance, speaking of charity, he adds, *It will cover many sins*, (Chap. II. *Of the Cow*, p. 91.) which are the very words of St. Peter in his first Epistle, chap. iv. ver. 8. *Charity shall cover a multitude of sins*. Chap. VII. *Of Prisons*, p. 157. he makes use of our Saviour's metaphor, which is in three of our Gospels<sup>f</sup>, *Of a camel's passing through the eye of a needle*: and in the same page manifestly borrowed his description of the future state of men *from our Saviour's parable concerning Dives and Lazarus*, Luke xvi. Particularly, when he speaks of the *aaraf*, or *separation between the blessed and damned*, he alludes to those words of Abraham to Dives, ver. 26. *Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed*: when he makes the damned to cry to the blessed, *Give us of the water which you drink*, he alludes to that, ver. 24. where the rich man is represented as crying to *Abraham to send Lazarus, that he might dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool his tongue*. Again, to omit other instances, Chap. XIV. *Of Abraham*, p. 219. he borrows that phrase of Jude, ver. 4. *of turning the grace of God into lasciviousness*.

Secondly, *It was utterly inconsistent with the whole intention of Mahomet's imposture, that he should in any one place cite by name any one of our Gospels, or indeed any of the books of the New Testament*. This is plain to any one who is acquainted

<sup>f</sup> Matth. xix. 24. Mark x. 25. Luke xviii. 25.

but in the least degree with the Alcoran. For whereas in all the genuine writings of the New Testament Jesus Christ is represented as God, and as the Son of God, Mahomet continually obliges his followers to believe the contrary: he many times denies him to be either God, or the Son of God, and sometimes pronounces everlasting damnation and misery against those who believed otherwise. Besides the passages above, N°. IV. VI. IX. XI. and XIV. I have observed near twenty places in the Alcoran, where Mahomet expresses and insinuates the same; which, for the sake of the curious reader, I have set down at the bottom of the page. Now the reason why the impostor thus frequently and strenuously declares against the scripture account of Christ's divinity, appears evidently to be this; because he, having it in his intention to appear a person more great and eminent than Jesus Christ, saw this impossible to be effected, if the accounts in the genuine records of Christianity, and the received writings of the apostles, were credited and looked upon as true. As therefore he did not appeal to these books, so we perceive plainly that it was inconsistent with his designs to do it.

Thirdly, *Mahomet was very likely to be furnished with the spurious books and apocryphal writings of the New Testament.* It is indeed certain that himself could neither write nor read, as he expressly says of himself twice in the same chapter of the Alcoran, (Chap. VII. p. 165.) where God is first introduced commanding persons *to believe in his prophet, who could neither write nor read*; and a little after he exhorts them in these words, *Believe in God, and in his prophet, who can neither read nor write*: but though he was thus a perfectly rude and illiterate barbarian, he was artful enough to procure proper assistances for his work. This is so notorious, that it seems by his own words to have been what he was commonly reproached with, viz. *that he did not make the Alcoran himself, but others helped him.* So in the chapter entitled, *Of the Alcoran*, (Chap. XXV.) In the beginning we read, *They say that the Alcoran is but a fable of thine own invention, with the assist-*

\* Chap. 4. page 115. 121. Ch. 6. p. 148. 152. Ch. 10. p. 193. 195. Ch. 14. p. 219. Ch. 16. p. 228. Ch. 17. p. 235. Ch. 18. p. 239. 242. Ch. 27. p. 289. Ch. 31. p. 310. Ch. 37. p. 335. Ch. 41. p. 352.



ance of some other person, but they lie and blaspheme : but notwithstanding this character of his opposers, the fact is certain. The commentators on this place of the Alcoran say, the persons here meant, who were assistants to Mahomet, were the servants of a certain sword-smith at Mecca, who were Christians, with whom Mahomet was used often to converse, for the better informing himself from them in the Old and New Testament<sup>h</sup>. Besides these, we find he had the assistance not only of a Persian Jew, named Abdia Ben Salon, afterwards called Abdollah Ebn Salem, who furnished him with his stories out of the Old Testament and Talmud, but also of a Christian monk, commonly known among Christians by the name Sergius, but among the easterns by the name Bahira ; from whom he received his accounts of Christianity<sup>i</sup>, as well as from Joannes Antiochenus<sup>k</sup>, and others. As to Sergius, we are assured<sup>l</sup> he was a Nestorian monk of Syria, who, being banished from his monastery, fled to Mecca, and there entered into confederacy with Mahomet. Hence it cannot be thought strange, that he should be furnished with the stories of Christ, by these Christian accomplices, which he made use of ; and if we consider the character of Sergius, who was his principal assistant, it will appear evident that he gave him his relations concerning Christ only out of such as were apocryphal books. Sergius was a Nestorian : the distinguishing tenet of that sect was, that *Christ was not God* ; and this was the impious assertion of many of those heretics, who forged the apocryphal writings which I have examined in the preceding work. This was the doctrine of Cerinthus<sup>m</sup>, of the Nazarenes<sup>n</sup>, Ebionites<sup>o</sup>, Theodotus Byzantium, and his followers<sup>p</sup>, the Alogians<sup>q</sup>, and many others of those heretics, who made use of such books to support their heresy, as the Gospel of Cerinthus, or Nazarenes, the Preaching and Revelation of Peter, &c. The Nestorians therefore, being heretics of the same sort, very probably made use of

<sup>h</sup> See Dean Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 35, 36.

<sup>i</sup> See Vincent. Bellovacen. Specul. Histor. lib. 23. cap. 41—66. apud Forbes. Instit. Histor. Theolog. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 177. and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 37, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Spanheim. Hist. Christian. Secul.

septimi. p. 1209.

<sup>l</sup> Prideaux, loc. cit.

<sup>m</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. c. 48. et Epiphan. Hæres. 28.

<sup>n</sup> Id. Hæres. 29.

<sup>o</sup> Id. Hæres. 30.

<sup>p</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. c. ult.

<sup>q</sup> Epiphan. Hæres. 51.

the same books; and consequently Mahomet, being assisted by Sergius, was very likely to be furnished with the old spurious and apocryphal books.

Fourthly, Although the impostor mentions no books from whence he borrows his accounts of Christ, *yet in one place he cites a history of the Virgin Mary, and of Christ, as being written*, i. e. as out of some book. The place I mean is that Chap. XIX. of the Alcoran, above in my collection, N<sup>o</sup>. X. He introduces the history of Mary thus, *Remember thou what is written of Mary*, &c. This he did, I suppose, through forgetfulness, because I have not observed another such place in the Alcoran.

Fifthly, Several of the passages in the preceding collection out of the Alcoran may be certainly proved to have been in apocryphal books: for instance,

I. The story of the wife of Joachim, N<sup>o</sup>. II. above, viz. *her devoting Mary to the service of the temple*, seems plainly to be taken either out of the Protevangelion of James, Chap. IV. or the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, Chap. II. (which are two apocryphal books now extant, and will be produced in the third part of this work) in both which this same account is related.

2. The account of *Christ's speaking in his cradle*, N<sup>o</sup>. III. is related in the Gospel translated out of Arabic by Mr. Sike, under the title of the Gospel of the Infancy of Christ, Chap. I. which shall also be in the next part.

3. The story of Christ's *making a bird out of the slime of the earth, when a child*, related N<sup>o</sup>. II. and N<sup>o</sup>. VII. is also in the same Gospel of Christ's Infancy, Chap. XXXVI. and the Gospel of the Infancy in Greek, under the name of Thomas, published by Cotelerius, Chap. II.

4. The ridiculous fiction, N<sup>o</sup>. III. concerning *Christ's not being crucified, but another crucified instead of him*, appears manifestly to be taken out of some old apocryphal book. However surprising the account may seem, it is fact, that Basilides, and several others of the ancient heretics, not long after Christ, positively affirmed that Christ was not crucified, but Simon the Cyrenean in his room; who, when he carried the cross of Christ, was so transformed into the likeness of Christ, that he was taken for him, and crucified in his stead; and at the

same time Jesus took the form and appearance of Simon, and stood by laughing at their mistake. This we find in Irenæus<sup>r</sup>, Tertullian<sup>s</sup>, and Epiphanius<sup>t</sup>; and I have above proved<sup>u</sup>, that there were a sect of Christians called *Docetæ*, in the very beginning of the second century, for this reason, that they *thought Christ did not really suffer, but only in appearance*. This opinion of Christ, I have shewn in the place cited, was very probably in the Gospel of Basilides, and the Gospel of Peter, if they were not the same book; and the incomparable Photius tells us, *he read it in so many words in the spurious Acts of the Apostles, forged by Leucius Charinus*<sup>x</sup>. From all which I argue that Mahomet, or his assistants for him, dealt in apocryphal books, and took this passage thence; because there were not, that I know of, at that time in the world, any set of persons who entertained that impious opinion, that *Christ did not suffer*, from whom they could have it. I cannot forbear remarking here, that though Mahomet, according to his apocryphal books, does in this place deny the death and crucifixion of Christ, affirming another was crucified in his room, and he immediately translated by God to heaven; yet in another place, viz. that above produced, N<sup>o</sup>. II. he introduces God himself, saying to Jesus, *I will cause thee to die, I will raise thee to myself*, &c. than which nothing can be a more palpable and gross contradiction. But the Alcoran is exceeding full of such, and so are those apocryphal books out of which it was compiled.

Thus I have endeavoured to shew whence Mahomet took his accounts of Christ. If any should yet inquire, why he did not cite and name the apocryphal books from which he borrowed? I answer,

1. *That he was ever willing to gratify and be complacent to the Christians*: this is a common observation; and as dean Prideaux well observes<sup>y</sup>, *It was his usage through the whole scene of his imposture, to flatter the Christians on all occasions*. Now to have cited those accounts out of books, as of authority

<sup>r</sup> Adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 23.

<sup>s</sup> De Præscr. adv. Hæc. c. 46.

<sup>t</sup> Hæres. 24. §. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Par. II. Ch. XXI.

<sup>x</sup> See the place produced at large in the place last cited.

<sup>y</sup> Life of Mahomet, p. 53. et 132.

among the Christians, which really were not so, but instead of that rejected by them, would have exposed him to their severest resentment, and so obstructed the reception of his scheme.

2. The truth is, *Mahomet durst not with safety to his design cite any book*. His doing this had been a proof that he was able either to read himself, or had some assistants with him in the compiling of his work; both of which he denied, as his followers do still; who, when they are pressed, how without miracles they can prove his mission, give this answer, *That instead of all miracles is the Alcoran*: for that Mahomet, who was an illiterate person, that could neither write nor read, or that any man else, by human wisdom alone, should be able to compose a book so excellent in eloquence and doctrine, as they will have that to be, is what they will not admit possible<sup>2</sup>.

COROLL. I. From the foregoing discourse it is easy to see the reason and foundation of the *Mahometans charging the Christians with having altered and corrupted the Gospel of Jesus Christ*. This is a charge frequently laid against us in the Alcoran, (see Chap. III. p. 100. Chap. V. p. 129.) and has been commonly observed by those who have wrote of the Mahometans. See Grotius<sup>a</sup>, Forbes<sup>b</sup>, Prideaux<sup>c</sup>, Toland<sup>d</sup>, and Mangey<sup>e</sup>. Sir John Chardin<sup>f</sup> gives us a more particular account; the substance of which is, "That though God hath sent into the world 124,000 prophets, there were only five of them who had the laws of public worship given them, viz. Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet: that these books were sent to these five prophets by the angel Gabriel; and each, when it came, superseded the tie of the other; that these books were either sent by little and little, as the Alcoran<sup>g</sup>; or by distinct books, as the five of Moses; or altogether, as the Gospel. That when God took any of these prophets to himself, he took the sacred book also, and

<sup>a</sup> Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 31.

<sup>b</sup> De Verit. Relig. Christ. l. 6. §. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Institut. Histor. Theolog. lib. 4. c.

4, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Life of Mahomet, p. 15, 16.

<sup>e</sup> Nazarenus, ch. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Remarks on Nazaren. c. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Travels to Persia and the East Indies. Vid. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. P. 3. p. 367.

<sup>h</sup> So Mahomet says himself. Alcoran, ch. 25. p. 281.

“ only left a copy, except the Alcoran ; which, being the last  
 “ book that was to be given, was preserved. Hence they ima-  
 “ gine no truly divine book on earth, but the Alcoran. They  
 “ nevertheless very much respect our Old and New Testa-  
 “ ment, kiss them, and lay them upon their heads. They ac-  
 “ knowledge them to contain many truths, but they allow them  
 “ not so much authority ; because they say, *they are not the*  
 “ *same which the prophets Moses and Jesus delivered, but some*  
 “ *corrupted abridgments.* Hence the Mahometan doctors  
 “ hold the reading of them vain and unprofitable ; and some  
 “ of them judge it criminal.” And a little after, “ As to the  
 “ Gospel, which they call *Ingil*, they hold, that Christ took it  
 “ with him to heaven again ; that the apostles wrote down each  
 “ of them what they could remember ; and that this is the  
 “ Gospel which the Christians have now, *different from that*  
 “ *which Christ took up to heaven, and only an historical ac-*  
 “ *count of what that prophet said and did ; which hath been*  
 “ *since corrupted in many places by the first Christians.* To  
 “ prove this, they say, we need do no more than compare the  
 “ Gospel with the other sacred books ; for in them God still  
 “ speaks, and not the prophet ; whereas the Gospel is nothing  
 “ but a history of what the prophet did. They add, that the  
 “ true Gospel began with these words, *O prophet, I have sent*  
 “ *my messenger, or angel, before thee, to prepare the way, &c.*  
 “ An idle fancy, founded upon the first words of St. Mark’s  
 “ Gospel.”

Agreeable to the preceding account of sir John Chardin, is  
 that of Mr. Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque Orientale* in French<sup>h</sup>.  
 “ By the word Gospel (in their language *Ingil*) in the Al-  
 “ coran, the Mussulmen do not understand that which is  
 “ among the Christians, *for they believe that corrupted ; but a*  
 “ *chimerical Gospel, which, they say, was sent from God by*  
 “ *Jesus Christ, and of which there is nothing remaining but*  
 “ *what is cited from the Alcoran.*—That which they cite  
 “ from the Gospel, whether historical or doctrinal, hath some  
 “ foundation in our Gospels ; but they always give it some  
 “ new turn, that it may not appear to be borrowed from the  
 “ Christians, and that they may persuade the ignorant that they

<sup>h</sup> Apud Fabric. loc. cit. p. 370, &c.

“ have among them the true originals, which they never yet  
 “ were able to produce——But they among them, who are  
 “ better instructed in Christianity, will confess, that the Gospel  
 “ which the Christians now have, as well as that which was in  
 “ the time of Mahomet, is the true Gospel of Jesus Christ, and  
 “ has nothing else in it; only they assert, *that it is altered and*  
 “ *corrupted by the Christians*, as well as the Old Testament by  
 “ the Jews.”

Thus universal is the charge of the Mahometans against the Christians' Gospels, that they are altered and corrupted. It is avowed and espoused by that intolerable sophist and juggler in writing, Mr. Toland; which, though it may be easily answered by other arguments, seems no way capable of so full an answer, as by the preceding account. For if, as I have largely proved, Mahomet took his account of Christ out of apocryphal and spurious books; and neither these accounts, nor any thing like them, are to be found in our present Gospels; his followers were under a sort of necessity of falling into this mistake concerning the Christian books: for when, upon a search made into them, they found none of those things which are said concerning Christ, or ascribed to Christ in the Alcoran, they must necessarily believe, either (1.) That *they were forgeries of Mahomet*; or (2.) That *he took them out of some spurious and fabulous books*; or (3.) That *he took them out of the genuine Gospels, which are since that time altered*. But as no one can suppose they would conclude either of the former, they must inevitably conclude the last; and so we at once see, how it came to pass they charged our scriptures with corruption, and how groundless that charge is.

COROLL. II. Hence it appears, that Mr. Toland's *notion in his Nazarenus*, that the Gospel of Barnabas, which is in prince Eugene's possession, (of which above, Part II. Chap. VIII.) is that referred to in the Alcoran, and by the Mahometans, is *perfectly whimsical and ridiculous*; for besides that that Gospel appears plainly a late Mahometan forgery, it is evident Mahomet took his accounts from other books.

After my preceding collection out of the Alcoran, of the *sayings* and *histories* of CHRIST, and observations thereupon, it may not be unsuitable to add the four *Sayings* or *Discourses*

ascribed to CHRIST by the Mahometan doctors, which are collected by Levinus Warner<sup>i</sup>, and referred to by Mr. Toland in his *Nazarenus*<sup>k</sup>, and afterwards transcribed by Fabricius<sup>l</sup>. They are these:

## I.

Dixit Jesus, filius Mariæ, super quo pax sit, Qui opibus inhiat, similis est ei, qui aquam maris potat; is, quo plus bibit, sitim plus provocat, nec bibere desistit, donec pereat.

Jesus, the son of Mary, upon whom be peace, said, *He, who thirsts after riches, is like to him who drinks sea-water. Such a person, the more he drink, the more he increaseth his thirst; nor will he give over drinking till he die.*

## II.

Dixit Jesus, filius Mariæ, Joanni, filio Zachariæ, Cum quispiam aliquid de te commemorans vera loquitur, Deum lauda; si mendacia profert, Deum magis lauda; augetur enim opus tuum in catalogo operum tuorum, idque sine omni tuo labore, hoc est, illius bona opera in catalogum tuum referuntur.

Jesus, the son of Mary, said to John, the son of Zacharias, *When any one relates that which is true concerning thee, praise God; if he says that which is false concerning thee, praise God the more; for so an addition is made to thy works in the catalogue of them, and that without any pains of thine; that is, his good works shall be placed in the catalogue of thine.*

## III.

Jesu beatæ memoriæ aliquando mundus visus est instar anus decrepitæ; cui ille, Quot, inquit, maritos habuisti? Ipsa adeo multos se habuisse respondet, ut numerari non possent. Mortui igitur illi, inquit Jesus, te reliquerunt? Imo vero, illa ait, ego occidi et sustuli illos. Tum Jesus, Mirum, inquit, est adeo insipientes esse alios, ut cum videant quomodo reliquos tractaris, tui

On a certain time, the world did appear to Jesus of blessed memory in the form of a decrepit old woman, to whom he said, *How many husbands have you had?* She answered, *She had so many that they could not be numbered.* Jesus replied, *So then, are they all dead, and have left you?* Yes, replied she, *I have killed them, and taken them off.* Then said Jesus, *It is strange*

<sup>i</sup> Not. ad Centur. Proverb. Persicor. Proverb. 61.

<sup>k</sup> Ch. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Cod. Apoc. N. T. part. 3. p. 394.

tamen amore flagrent, et de aliis exemplum non capiant.

*others should be so infatuated, that when they perceive how you have dealt with others, they should be so fond of you, and not take warning by others.*

## IV.

Tempore Jesu, tres aliquando iter faciebant, qui thesaurum inveni-  
entes, Esurimus, inquit, ideo-  
que unus ex nobis abibit, et ci-  
bum coemet. Unus ille, qui ibat  
allatum cibum, Consultum, in-  
quit, erit, ut cibum veneno infi-  
ciam, quo vescentes illi mori-  
antur, egoque solus thesauro po-  
tiar. Quod fecit; cibo venenum  
admiscuit: sed et duo illi viri in-  
ter se convenerant, ut cum cibum  
apportaret, eum interficerent, quo  
soli thesauro fruerentur. Cum  
igitur cibum veneno mixtum af-  
ferret, eum occiderunt; et ipsi  
cibum illum venenatum come-  
dentes, statim sunt mortui. Cum  
ecce Jesus transiens cum apostolis  
suis dicebat, Hæc est conditio  
mundi! Ecce quomodo ternos  
hosce tractaverit, et ipse tamen  
post hos in statu suo perseveret.  
Væ illi, qui petit mundum ex  
mundo.

Upon a time in the days of Jesus,  
there were three persons travel-  
ling, and having found a treasure,  
they said, *We are hungry; let  
one of us go and buy food.* He  
who went to fetch the food, said,  
*I will contrive to mix poison with  
the food, that when they eat there-  
of, they may die, and I alone pos-  
sess all the treasure.* Accordingly  
he did, and mixed poison with the  
food. In the mean time the two  
men agreed, that when he brought  
back the meat, they would kill  
him; so when he brought back  
the meat, mixed with poison, they  
slew him; and they, when they  
eat the poisoned meat, presently  
died. At which time Jesus pass-  
ing by with his apostles, said,  
*Such is the condition of the world!*  
*See how it has dealt with these  
three persons, and it continues still  
the same. Woe unto him who seeks  
the world by the world (or by  
worldly means).*





